

THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

DISSENTERS BEFORE PARLIAMENT.

WE promised last week to glance a little more at large, than either our limits or our time would then allow of, at the expediency of bringing formally before parliament the principle of a separation between church and state. The question suggested to us by a respectable correspondent, was glanced at incidentally in our last number. The wisdom and honesty of basing our applications to the legislature for a removal of grievances upon an explicit avowal of the principles we profess were then insisted on, and must be obvious, we should imagine, to every candid mind. To the inquiry now under consideration, a mere off-hand answer would give little satisfaction. The matter is not one, a confident judgment on which may be pronounced without grave and mature reflection. We shall give our own opinions with diffidence, desiring nothing more for them than that they may lead to a discussion, the results of which could not fail to be useful.

When any practical step is submitted to us for consideration, we usually put to ourselves the question—What for? and endeavour to discover a suitable reply. It behoves us, then, to inquire what are the ends likely to be accomplished by submitting to the notice of, and formal discussion in, parliament, the question of a separation between church and state? Were this a case in which the line of duty is clearly marked out—were it one in which our obligation to pursue a definite course were altogether irrespective of what might or might not be our own opinion of its wisdom, we should be careless as to the reception which the question would meet with at the hands of our legislators, and boldly meet their taunts and face their derision. But since the specific inquiry necessarily resolves itself into one of a more general character, it will be best answered by a reference to the comparative feasibility of all known means for the accomplishment of the end in view. Circumstances must enter more largely into the formation of our judgment than would be allowable on the former hypothesis. In short, we must take into account the nature of the question itself, the temper of the judges to whom it must be submitted, the information, ability, and influence of such advocates as may be found, the effect which such discussion is likely to have upon the public mind, and the probability which exists that we should be able to promote the cause we have at heart more rapidly and more effectually by the adoption of this, rather than an entirely different system of tactics.

Our fixed persuasion is, and has been for some time, that dissenting questions will be best promoted by that policy which will serve to advance the general interests of the nation. The sooner they are withdrawn from the ground of sectarianism the better for all parties. Not that we would be understood for a moment to suggest that the distinctive principles of nonconformists should be consigned to silence. On the contrary, we hold it to be a sacred duty, binding upon every member of the body, to use his utmost exertion for the diffusion of information upon the essential spirituality of Christ's kingdom. But we think that the immediate duty of dissenters calls them to labour for the improvement of themselves rather than for the enlightenment of parliament. It is not sufficient to observe that the country is not yet ripe for separation, but it deserves to be noted that dissenters themselves are not prepared for it. Vast numbers of them are yet ignorant of its meaning. A yet greater number mistrust its practicability. Few amongst them have wholly purged out of their minds the leaven of state-church superstitions, and the value of their own principles there is only here and there one who can be said to appreciate. Before dissenters aim at teaching others, it would be well for them to teach themselves. They must have an efficient organisation and a disciplined army before they can attack the legislature with the slightest probability of success. Our demonstrations will else be nothing more than exhibitions of weakness and inconsistency, and our efforts will recoil in confusion upon our heads, and will serve rather to impede than to advance the cause we espouse. We need out-door, rather than in-door, agitation.

It will be admitted on all hands that ignorance the most dense, in regard to all ecclesiastical topics, reigns over parliament. The question of separation they would be disposed to meet with shouts of derision; and feelings of contempt, unfortunately, are contagious. It would require no ordinary powers of argument and of eloquence to place our principles advantageously under the eye of the legislature. The subject, if touched upon at all, should be touched upon with masterly skill—with skill that would at all events redeem it from insult. But dissenters can boast of no representative now in parliament, qualified to unfold their principles, to untwist the sophistry of their opponents, to rebuke the inane and frivolous assumptions of the allies of a state priesthood, and to command, by the sheer force of honesty of purpose combined with power of intellect, the respectful and deferential attention of the House to this

great question. Hitherto, with few exceptions, the professed advocates of dissenting interests have, ere they commenced their speeches, bowed in abject submission to a state-church, and professed themselves the humblest of her disciples. Far better is it that our principles should never see the light, than that they should be loaded with the odium of such men's wretched drivings. If ever we intend to push this question in the House of Commons, let us wait, at all events, until some competent advocate can be found.

We much question whether any sane man, conversant with facts, can doubt that reform in parliament must precede the dissolution of the present alliance between things secular and sacred. Were our House of Commons really as well as nominally the people's House—were its members the representatives of large constituencies, instead of being for the most part the nominees of aristocratic families, or the occupants of purchased seats, we might expect a serious and manly consideration of the whole question. Why should we cast pearls before swine?—why spread out our principles before men, who, instigated by the priestly spirit, would only trample upon them, and then turn to rend us? So long as the present constitutional system continues, every truth connected with religious liberty will be spit upon with contempt. If we would promote our principles we must seek reform. Let us first get a freely and an equitably chosen parliament, and we may then put forward our claims to consideration. The wisest thing which earnest dissenters, in our opinion, can do, is to encourage by all means in their power the cause of complete suffrage. Whenever that shall triumph they will be strong. Until that shall be carried their power will be contemptible. True dissent and democracy must run in couples.

CHURCH EXTENSION.

DEAN FOREST ECCLESIASTICAL DISTRICTS' BILL.

WE must give the church of England ample credit for vigilance. She has a keen eye for crumbs of comfort. She never lets slip an opportunity, however small, of increasing her resources. She seems to presume upon the apathy of dissenters, and she very wisely turns it to account. It is evident that religious freedom societies do not frighten her, at least the Religious Freedom society of the metropolis. Even a parliamentary agent, acting on behalf of a body which boasts of representing the dissenters of the kingdom, does not scare her from pouncing upon the most insignificant prey when she scents it from afar. She is now actively engaged in promoting church extension *in petto*, and by a sort of artifice drawing upon the public funds with a view to the enlargement of her borders. Were the friends of religious liberty in the House as given to somnolence as the professed advocates of it out of doors, she might thus steal on almost without notice. An instance of this kind has lately occurred. The Dean Forest Ecclesiastical Districts' bill is a bill for the establishment, at the public expense, of four chapels, or livings, in the forest of Dean. Ten thousand pounds are voted to endow them at the rate of 150*l.* a year; the patronage of three of the churches to be granted to the Queen, that is, to the minister of the day; and that of the other to the Bishop of Bristol. On the motion for the further consideration of the report on this bill, Mr Hume, on Tuesday evening, the 5th inst, moved the following resolutions, which were seconded by Sir John Easthope. We insert the resolutions entire, as giving a concise view of the merits of the case, and we commend them to the consideration of the nonconformists of this country:—

"1. That the revenue from the crown lands in the Forest of Dean is part of the revenue of the crown lands transferred by her Majesty to the public exchequer of the country, in exchange and in consideration of the yearly sum of £385,000 sterling, granted by parliament out of the public revenue for her Majesty's civil list, during her lifetime; and that any grant out of the revenue of her Majesty's crown lands to endow clergymen, or for any other purpose, is a charge on the public revenue of the country equally as if the same amount is paid from the revenue of her Majesty's excise or customs.

"2. That the revenues of the church of England, as appears by the report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners before this House, amounted to £3,811,507 sterling gross, and to £3,507,501 net income, from lands and tithes.

"3. That, by the act 6 and 7 Will. 4, c. 77, and subsequent act, it was enacted, that various sinecures and other offices in the church should be abolished, and reductions in the salaries of some of the clergy made as vacancies occurred; and that the revenues of such suppressed sinecure offices should form a fund, to be applied by the said commissioners to the augmentation of small livings, and to such other church purposes as stated in that report.

"4. That, besides these large revenues of the church applied to church purposes, there has been paid out of the public revenue of the United Kingdom the sum of £5,678,751 sterling for the established churches in England, Ireland, and Scotland, between the years 1801 and 1840 both inclusive, besides many large payments in the British colonies for the support of the church; and all these sums have been an addition to the national debt, the interest of which is now chargeable on the public revenue.

"5. That it appears by the bill before the House, intitled, "Dean Forest Ecclesiastical Districts' bill," that the sum of £2,200 has been already paid

by the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's treasury, from parliamentary grants towards the endowment of the clergymen of the chapel of Holy Trinity, and that three of the clergymen of the chapels of the Forest of Dean have already yearly endowments to the amount severally of £118 10s. 6d., of £93 13s. and £74 3s. 6d.

"6. That there were, as stated by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in their report in 1835, 5,251 curates employed by incumbents at salaries the average of which amounted only to £81 sterling, and showing that many of these curates perform the ecclesiastical duties in their parishes for smaller incomes than the clergy of the Forest of Dean chapels already possess.

"7. That, therefore, in the present commercial, manufacturing, and financial difficulties of the country, and at a time when parliament has passed an act to add by taxation three or four millions sterling to the burthens of the people, to meet the already sanctioned expenditure of the country, it is highly inexpedient to increase that expenditure by granting a sum equivalent to £10,500 of Three per cents. from the public revenue of the country, for the endowment of the clergymen of the chapels of the Forest of Dean.

"8. That it appears by the bill, that in the year 1838 the Commissioners of her Majesty's Woods and Forests, with consent of the Lords of the Treasury, invested the sum of £843 15s. from the revenues of the crown lands, to purchase the sum of £1,000 Three per Cent. Consolidated Bank Annuities, upon trust, towards the repairs of the fabrics of the said three chapels for ever, and the further proposed grant of money, equivalent to £333 6s. 8d. of Three per Cent. Stock, the dividends of which are to be applied for the maintaining and repairing the fabric of these chapels, would be a precedent for paying church rates out of the general revenue of the country, and ought not to be agreed to."

The resolutions were negatived by 177 against 44; and in the list of the majority will be found the following members, usually designated by the term liberal:—

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| Baring, Right Hon. F. (Portsmouth). | Duff, James. |
| Brodie, William Bird. | Dundas, David (Sutherlands). |
| Buller Charles (Liskeard). | Grey, Right Hon. Sir George. |
| Cavendish, Hon. G. H. (Derby). | Palmerston, Viscount. |
| Childers, John Wallancke. | Protheroe, Edward. |
| Clements, Viscount. | Russell, Lord John (London). |
| Colborne, Hon. W. H. Ridley. | Seale, Sir John Henry. |
| Cowper, Hon. W. F. | Stuart, Lord James (Ayr). |
| Denison, John Evelyn (Malton). | Barnard, Edward George. |

Our readers will observe amongst the above names that of Lord John Russell, the friend *par excellence* of dissenters. We trust the merits of this statesman are beginning to be appreciated by his *quondam* supporters; if not, it must fairly be conceded that the fault is not his. We own that we are out of heart in respect to the dissenting body. It would seem as though the ruling powers could frame no yoke, however galling, to which they will not tamely bow the neck. Their present apathy may possibly arise from a settled conviction that any and every effort to resist ecclesiastical encroachments must, during the continuance of the present legislative system, terminate in disappointment. If this be indeed their belief, they ought to be among the first to hail a movement for the reconstruction of the House of Commons. By heartily joining the ranks of those who seek an extension of the suffrage they might afford some reasonable solution of their now inexplicable silence. Men would then take it for granted that they only bide their time.

Last Tuesday two policemen, with assistants, and Mr Wilson, a tithe auctioneer, entered the house of Mr Joseph Ridley, glover, Hexham, and carried away the following goods, to satisfy the demand of the churchwardens for a rate of 3s. 2d., viz.—a feather bed, two bolsters, and three pillows; an eight day clock; and Chamber's Dictionary, or Ree's Cyclopædia, in five vols. folio. Mr Airey, the perpetual curate, on occasion of this rate being made, refused to allow a poll to be taken, and rejected a proposal to raise the money by voluntary contributions. This is the third time that Joseph Ridley has had his bed taken from him for resisting the payment of Easter offerings and church rates; the former are now happily abandoned in this parish, and the rate is reduced to one-fourth of its former amount; but nothing short of its utter extinction will satisfy the true friends of religious liberty.—*From a Correspondent.*

The result of the poll against the church rate at Halifax was declared last week. It was as follows:—

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| Majority of persons against the rate | 1092 |
| Majority of voters against the rate | 1020 |

The number of voters against the rate would have been considerably greater, but it so happened that a poor rate had been laid so recently as the 4th ult., and the greater part of the rate-payers had neither received their poor-rate papers, nor were they acquainted with the fact that a rate had been laid on the 4th of June at all; and it was generally understood that those who had not paid their poor rates, could not vote against the church rate, and, as may be supposed, there were a great many that could not pay the rate at the time without very great inconvenience, and therefore did not vote at all against the church rate, as they would have done in other circumstances.

A meeting to lay a church rate was held at Bradford, Yorkshire, on Saturday week. Great numbers of rate payers were present, and the vestry being much too small, an adjournment to the church-yard took place, the churchwardens (notwithstanding it rained very hard) having refused to allow the meeting to be held in the church. Mr W. Byles was called to the chair; and a motion for a farthing rate having been made by the churchwardens, the Rev. Mr Winterbotham, baptist minister, after an eloquent speech, moved, and Mr Hanson seconded, the following amendment, "That the meeting should be adjourned until such time as the late churchwardens should produce their books for the inspection of the rate-payers, and give an account of the money they had obtained from the out-townships." The motion and amendment were then put, when the latter was carried almost unanimously.

A vestry meeting was held in St Michael's parish, Derby, on the evening of Thursday last, the Rev. J. G. Howard, vicar, in the chair. A motion was made and seconded that a rate of 3d. in the pound be granted. An amendment was then moved, seconded, and carried by a large majority, that the meeting be adjourned to that day twelve months. A poll was demanded, but subsequently abandoned.

On Thursday last a vestry was held in the parish church of the borough of High Wycombe for the purpose of making a church rate.

Mr Churchwarden Williams (without producing any estimate) asked for a rate of 4d. in the pound, when it was proposed as an amendment, "that no rate be granted." The amendment was lost by a large majority, and a poll being demanded, there appeared for the rate, 80; against the rate, 20; majority, 60. Wycombe contains five dissenting places of worship, besides a quaker's meeting house, and yet only twenty could be found to vote against the rate.

The following petition of the Newcastle and Gateshead Religious Freedom society respecting the appointment of chaplains under the new poor law has been forwarded for presentation to the Commons:—

"That the Newcastle-upon-Tyne union workhouse is supplied with religious instruction gratuitously by ministers of various denominations, and thus the rate payers are exempt from the tax of supporting a salaried chaplain.

"That your petitioners consider the eleventh clause of the Poor Law Amendment bill at present before your honourable House, unnecessary, as the children of district schools might be supplied with religious instruction in like manner.

"That your petitioners object to the enactment of such clause, as calculated to increase the burdens of the rate payers, and as a violation of the principles of religious liberty, which it is the object of your petitioners to maintain and extend.

"Your petitioners therefore pray your honourable House to omit altogether the clause in question."

A protestant clergyman was processed at the Ballymote quarter sessions, at the suit of the Attorney-general, for an arrear of tithe composition, and his reverence took defence, and was so fortunate as to defeat the first law-officer of the crown. Thus, it seems that even the ministers of the church by law established are not enamoured of tithes, if they should be required to pay them out of their own pockets.—*Sligo Champion.*

On the communication of the intention of the General Assembly to hold a fast on the 21st inst to the moderator of the Relief synod, inviting co-operation, the following reply was made:—"That, while the Relief synod would gladly avail themselves of every opportunity of uniting with all Christian denominations in seeking and promoting Christian objects, they would demur to one of the reasons specified in the minute, for the appointment of the day of humiliation, as *sectarian in its character*, in so far as 'the tokens of the Divine displeasure' referred to had an exclusive reference to the church of Scotland; and as *unreasonable*, in so far as dissenters had not created the evils referred to, and as their principles and practice afforded a remedy. The matter came before the Relief Presbytery of Edinburgh on Tuesday last, when it was unanimously agreed to decline the invitation of the Assembly to co-operate and concur in the observance of the day of humiliation, for the reasons specified in the reply of the moderator of the synod."

THE PROPER SPHERE OF GOVERNMENT.

LETTER III.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR—In my last letter I attempted to prove that if the administration of justice had been recognised as the only duty of the state, a national church would not have existed, and restrictions upon commerce could not have been enacted. These conclusions are so far in accordance with the opinions of the great mass of liberal men, that it is unnecessary to enter into any argument in their favour; but it was also shown that a poor law would be inadmissible under such an arrangement. This result will not meet with such general approbation, and it is therefore deemed requisite to enter more fully into the evidence that may be adduced in support of it. Before proceeding, it may be observed, that as the *Nonconformist* is the organ of a political body who act upon principle and not upon expediency, and who avow their intention to follow up sound doctrine, whether it may lead to odium or popularity, it is hoped that the arguments brought forward will meet with a candid consideration, apart from all personal or political bias.

Many poor law advocates build their arguments upon the existence of a corn law; they say that were there no bar to the importation of foreign produce, and no consequent check to the demand for our manufactures, they would not object to the working man being dependent upon his own resources; but that so long as the price of food is unnaturally raised, and the call for labour so uncertain, they must maintain the necessity of a public charity. To this there are two replies.

First, That the argument rests upon a wrong hypothesis, originating as it does in the assumption, that public charity comes from the pockets of the rich, when in reality the greater portion of it comes from the pockets of the labouring classes. The very parties for whose benefit the fund is raised, are, in virtue of their productive industry, chiefly instrumental in raising it. The fact, therefore, that the industrious classes are already suffering from a corn law, affords no reason why one part of them should be still further burdened, by having to provide food and clothing for the other.

Secondly, That the new view of the duty of a government is not in the least affected by the objection, for it has been shown that free trade is a necessary consequence of the same principle that excludes a poor law; and if so, it follows that those arguments which are founded upon the existence of commercial restrictions are not applicable.

But even admitting that a poor law produces a great amelioration in the condition of the labouring classes in times of national distress; it is still very questionable whether it is the wisest, or even the most benevolent policy that can be adopted. Until the world becomes overpopulated, it may be considered as an axiom, that so long as the earth continues to produce, and mankind are willing to labour, an extensive distress indicates something unnatural in the social arrangements. Such is the present condition of England—Europe and America produce more food than they can consume—our artisans are willing to work and yet they are bordering upon starvation, consequently there must be something radically wrong in our national institutions. Is it better to palliate or to cure the evil? Is it better to mitigate the distress by the distribution of public charity, or to allow it so to manifest itself, as to demand the discovery and removal of its cause? Which do we consider the kindest physician, the one who alleviates the pain of a disease by continually administering anodynes, or the one who allows his patient to experience a little suffering in the exhibition of the symptoms, that he may discover the seat of the malady, and then provide a remedy? The alternative requires no consideration, and yet the conditions of the case are analogous to those of the question in hand. The working classes are represented by the patient—the popular party, who would relieve distress by a generous poor law, are personified by the physician who alleviates pain by giving an anodyne; and the men who oppose a poor law upon principle, are identified with the physician, who would cure the disease after inflicting some pain in the discovery of its source.

It is rather surprising that the writers who have of late been animadverting upon the national collection scheme, and who have pointed out the mockery of recommending charity, in answer to a call for justice, should not perceive that the case is but a type of the poor law. Both are attempts to palliate an evil, not to cure it; both are means of quieting the complaints of the nation, and both will tend to retard the attainment of those rights which the people demand. The *Times*, in noticing the presentation of the

national petition, made an observation to the effect that the contents of the document were not worthy of notice, but that the circumstances clearly proved the necessity for a "more generous poor law," to satisfy the complainants. Here is a clear exposition of the policy: we must stop the mouths of the people by charity: we need not enter into the question of their rights, but we must give them more parish pay!

If we had never had a poor law, it is very probable that many of the great evils we are now labouring under, would ere this have been removed. I have been hitherto endeavouring to prove that a poor law is inexpedient; I will now attempt to show that it is defective in principle. Many of the arguments that are urged against an established religion, may be used with equal force against an established charity. The dissenter submits that no party has a right to compel him to contribute to the support of doctrines which do not meet his approbation. The rate payer may as reasonably argue that no one is justified in forcing him to subscribe towards the maintenance of persons, whom he does not consider deserving of relief. The advocate of religious freedom does not acknowledge the right of any council, or bishop, to choose for him what he shall believe, or what he shall reject. So the opponent of a poor law does not acknowledge the right of any government, or commissioner, to choose for him who are worthy of his charity, and who are not. The dissenter from an established church maintains that religion will always be more general, and more sincere, when its ministry is not compulsory. The dissenter from a poor law maintains that charity will always be more extensive, and more beneficial, when it is voluntary. The dissenter from an established church can demonstrate that the good intentions of a state religion will always be frustrated by the corruption which the system invariably produces. So the dissenter from a poor law can show that the proposed benefits of state charity will always be neutralised by the evils of pauperism, which necessarily follow in its train. The dissenter from an established church objects that no man has a right to step in between him and his religion. So the dissenter from established charity objects that no man has a right to step in between him and the exercise of his religion.

How is it, that those who are so determined in their endeavours to rid themselves of the domination of a national church—who declare that they do not need the instruction of the state in the proper explanation of the gospel—how is it that these same men are tamely allowing and even advocating the interference of the state in the exercise of the most important principle of the gospel? They deny the right of the legislature to explain the principles, and yet argue the necessity of their direction in the practice. It indicates but little consistency on the part of dissenters, that while they defend their independence in the article of *faith*, they have so little confidence in their own principles that they look for extraneous aid in the department of *works*.

The man who sees the inhabitants of a country deficient in religious instruction, and hence maintains the necessity of a national religion, is doing no more than the man who sees part of the population wanting in food and clothing, and hence argues the necessity of a poor law.

Again, the moral effect of a poor law upon the ratepaying portion of the community is little considered, although one of its most important features. Here also, there is an evident analogy between established religion and established charity. It is said, that in a system like that of our national church, in which the visible duties of a communicant consist chiefly in attendance upon public worship—reception of the sacraments—payment of tithes, church rates, &c., the form will always be substituted for the reality; that the periodical ceremonies will take the place of the daily practice; that the physical will take the place of the spiritual. It may be said, with equal truth, that a similar effect will follow the establishment of a poor law; the same principles in human nature are acted upon; the payment of poor's rates, will supplant the exercise of real benevolence, and a fulfilment of the legal form will supersede the exercise of the moral duty.

Forced contributions rarely appeal to the kind feelings. The man who is called upon for a rate does not put his hand into his pocket out of pure sympathy for the poor; he looks upon the demand as another tax, and feels annoyance rather than pleasure in paying it. Nor does the effect end here: the poor man who is struggling hard with the world to maintain his independence, excites no pity; so long as there is a poor law he cannot starve, and it will be time enough to consider his case when he applies for relief; the beggar who knocks at his door, or the way-worn traveler who accosts him in his walk, is told to go to his parish; there is no need to inquire into his history, and to give him private assistance if found deserving, for there is already a public provision for him. Such is the state of mind encouraged by national charity. When the legal demand is paid, the conscience is satisfied; the party is absolved from all exercise of generosity; charity is administered by proxy; the nobler feelings are never required to gain the victory over the selfish propensities; a dormant condition of those feelings necessarily follows, and a depreciation of the national character is the final result. The payment of poor's rates bears the same relation to real charity that the attention to forms and ceremonies bears to real religion.

But, it may be asked, how are we to know that voluntary benevolence would suffice for the relief of the ordinary distresses of the poor, were there no national provision? A somewhat analogous question is put as an objection to the extension of the suffrage—how are we to know that those who are not fitted for the exercise of the franchise will become so when it is given to them? and a similar reply to that so ably employed by the editor of the *Nonconformist* in that case will apply here. Men are not in the habit of preparing for duties they are never called upon to perform; they are not in the habit of exhibiting virtues which are never needed; the higher feelings will remain inactive until circumstances prompt them to exercise. Hence it follows, that while there is a public provision for poverty, there will be no incentive to the exercise of benevolence on the part of the rich, and no stimulus to prudence and economy on the part of the poor. So long as the one class can point to the pay table, they will not give; and so long as the other have an inexhaustible fund to apply to, they will not save. It may reasonably be concluded, therefore, that were there no poor law, the rich would be more charitable, and the poor more provident. The one would give more, and the other would ask less.

A general view of the arguments shows—

1. That the burden of the poor law falls chiefly upon the industrious classes.
2. That the existence of commercial restrictions is therefore rather an argument for abolishing it.
3. That even assuming a poor law to be directly beneficial, it is indirectly injurious, inasmuch as it prolongs the causes of distress.
4. That established charity is open to many of the strongest objections that can be urged against established religion.
5. That a poor law discourages the exercise of real benevolence, and lowers the standard of national character.
6. That were there no poor law, the increase of voluntary charity, and the decrease of improvidence, would render one unnecessary.

From these reasons it is concluded, that the proposed definition of the duty of a government, in excluding a poor law, is only excluding what is intrinsically bad.

HERBERT SPENCER.

Major Graham, private secretary and brother of Sir Jas. Graham, has been appointed to the office of registrar-general of births, marriages, and deaths, in the room of the late Mr Lister.

IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

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| Church patronage (Scotland) for abolition of, 1. | sent system, 11. |
| — rates, for abolition of, 1. | Maynooth college, for inquiry, 2. |
| Corn laws, for repeal of, 1. | Mines and Collieries bill, against, 12. |
| Distress, for inquiry into, 2. | Oaths, for abolition of, 1. |
| Education (Ireland), for alteration of pre- | Poor Law Amendment bill, against, 22. |
| | Roman catholics, for equal civil rights, 1. |

PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

BILLS PRESENTED, AND READ A FIRST TIME.

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| 1. Militia Ballots bill. | 3. Military Savings Banks bill. |
| 2. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction bill. | 4. Turnpike Acts Continuance bill. |

BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

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| 1. Turnpike Acts Continuance bill. | 3. Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction bill. |
| 2. Linen, &c., Manufactures (Ireland) bill. | 4. Militia Ballots bill. |

CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

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| 1. Fisheries (Ireland) bill. | 5. Supply—£806,566, on account of the expedition to China; £108,000, for Canada; £100,000, for harbour of Kingston. |
| 2. Prisons bill. | 6. Linen, &c., Manufactures (Ireland) bill. |
| 3. Fisheries Treaty bill. | 7. Turnpike Acts Continuance bill. |
| 4. Slave Trade Treaties Act Continuance bill. | |

BILLS READ A THIRD TIME, AND PASSED.

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| 1. Dean Forest. Ecclesiastical Districts bill. | 2. District Courts and Prisons bill. |
| | 3. Municipal Corporations bill. |

MOTIONS.

Savings' Banks—Motion made and question put, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the proceedings of the Commissioners for the reduction of the National Debt, the Commissioners for the management of savings' banks, and the Lords Commissioners of the treasury, with the monies of savings' banks in the years 1836 to 1841, both inclusive, by which, under the Act 9 Geo. 4, c. 92, intitled, 'An Act to consolidate and amend the laws relating to savings' banks,' the amount of £5,395,569 of three per cent. stock has been added to the national debt, without the previous knowledge or sanction of parliament."—(Mr Hume.) The House divided; Ayes 34, Noes 173.

Minister's money (Ireland)—Motion made and question put, "That this House will, on Wednesday, the 13th day of this instant July, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration the Act 17 and 18 Car. 2, c. 7, intitled 'An Act for provision of ministers in cities, corporate towns, and making the church of St. Andrew's, in the suburbs of the city of Dublin, presentative for ever,' with a view to the repeal of so much thereof as relates to the provision of ministers in cities and corporate towns in Ireland."—(Mr Serjeant Murphy.) The House divided; Ayes 56, Noes 85.

Corn Importation—Motion made and question proposed, "That it is the opinion of this House, that, considering the present state of the country, it would be highly expedient to vest in her present Most Gracious Majesty similar authority to that which was given to her predecessors, and this House, before the close of this session, will cheerfully acquiesce in granting such powers as may enable Her Majesty, with the advice of her privy council, to reduce or discontinue, should circumstances so require, the duties which now regulate the importation of foreign corn, until the 1st day of January, 1843, or for six weeks after the commencement of the next session of parliament."—(Mr Bannerman.) The House divided; Ayes 113, Noes 175.

Flag officers (navy)—Motion made and question proposed, "That there be laid before this House, a return, showing the services of all flag officers in the navy, distinguishing the date of entry of each officer into the service, and the several commissions which they have obtained, distinguishing the period passed in commission in their respective ranks, and the total period on full and half pay; and showing the period when each was last employed, and the age of each officer at the present time (in continuation of the returns in the report of the commission of naval inquiry in 1840, No. 11 of appendix of that report, and also in continuation of P. P. 251, of 1837)."—(Mr Hume.) Whereupon motion made and question put, "That this House do now adjourn"—the House divided; Ayes 21, Noes 71. Original question again proposed; debate arising; debate adjourned till Monday next.

Supply—Motion made and question proposed, "That the order of the day for the committee of supply be now read." Amendment proposed, to leave out from the word "That" to the end of the question, in order to add the words "this House will immediately resolve itself into a committee to consider the law relating to the importation of corn, with a view to its total repeal," instead thereof.—(Mr Villiers.) Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the question." Question put; the House divided; Ayes 231, Noes 117. Main question put and agreed to.

SUBSTANCE OF CONVERSATIONS.

FOREIGN CORN.—On Friday evening Lord Howick gave notice, that he would, on Thursday next, move that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on the subject of the regulations affecting the importation of foreign corn, when he should submit for consideration a resolution to the effect—That it is expedient to admit the importation of corn from abroad, to the 1st of March, 1843, on payment of a duty not exceeding 6s. per quarter.

COMMERCE WITH BRAZIL.—On the same evening, in reply to a question from Mr Forster, Sir R. Peel said, that for several years past there had been a difference between the government of Brazil and the government of this country as to the operation of the existing commercial treaty. The Brazilian government contended that the treaty expired in November, 1842, while the British government maintained that it did not expire till November, 1844. It was, therefore, deemed necessary that a new treaty should be negotiated in order to meet this difference. That commercial treaty had been under consideration for some time. He believed that some additional delay in bringing the proceedings to a close had taken place in Brazil, owing to particular circumstances. His impression, however, was, that the matter would speedily be settled.

SILVER COIN.—On Monday night, Mr Hume asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what steps had been taken to supply the public with silver currency. As a matter of favour he had got 10s. in silver at the bank. The greatest possible inconvenience was felt throughout the country. He wished to know whether any coin had been issued, and if so, to what extent? The Chancellor of the Exchequer said he could assure the hon. gentleman that the Mint was at work upon silver coin, and was supplying the Bank as fast as possible. The Bank had issued £240,000 in silver since the hon. gentleman before alluded to the subject.

LORD AUCKLAND.—On the same evening Sir Robert Peel took occasion to deny that government had ever written to Lord Auckland to continue in the Governor-generalship of India. He could not, however, say what private letter might or might not have been written by Lord Ellenborough to Lord Auckland. Lord Palmerston reiterated his statement, and still adhered to the opinion that the letter written by Lord Ellenborough to Lord Auckland was a virtual request to his lordship to continue in India.

DEBATES.

Wednesday, July 6.

SUDBURY.

Mr BLACKSTONE renewed his motion for extending the right of voting to the hundred instead of disfranchising the borough; and which it will be remembered he was interrupted in last week by the House

being counted out. After a short discussion the motion was rejected by 134 to 53; and the Disfranchisement bill was read a third time.

DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

On the order of the day being read for the House to resolve itself into a committee of supply, the adjourned debate on Mr Wallace's resolutions, given in our last, was resumed.

Mr WILLIAMS dwelt upon the gradually and universally increasing distress; and insisted upon the necessity of a change in the corn laws, not an 8s. duty, but a free importation. He objected to the Income tax as a scheme to take £4,000,000 per annum from the pockets of the destitute population; and proposed as a remedy for the distress—in addition to a free importation of corn and all raw materials—the repeal of the malt tax, the reduction of duties on tea, sugar, coffee, &c., and the application of Sir James Graham's old plan of taking one-third off all payments made from the exchequer, except to common sailors and soldiers. He concluded by quoting a prophecy made by Sir James Graham in the work entitled "Corn and Currency," that "whenever this country presents the spectacle of millions supplicating for bread, then will the people sweep away titles, pensions, and honours."

Mr ALDAM read extracts from letters to prove the wretched state of the woollen manufactures in Leeds and neighbourhood. He said wages were reduced to anything the masters chose to give, and the smaller masters were sinking into workmen. Such was the urgent nature of their situation that some remedy was absolutely necessary, and he proposed the immediate opening of the ports to foreign corn, which would bring corn from the United States and relieve the present suffering.

Sir B. HALL represented the distressed state of the parish of Marylebone, and the great extent of pauperism and parochial relief in that district. The very pawnbrokers, from the excessive run upon them, found their capital exhausted, and lacked means to make advances upon goods. A sufficient harvest could not be hoped for; since the breadth of land sown with corn was short, by one-third, of the usual quantity. The present ministers had been aware, for more than a twelvemonth, that it would be their duty to devise some measures for the general relief, but had brought none forward. Even the shopkeepers were involved in the general calamity; the orders they obtained were few, and the payments made to them scanty and unpunctual.

Mr BROTHERTON spoke of the distress in Salford. The increase of pauperism had been fearful; and so much were the people emaciated, that if work could now be furnished them, it was to be feared that they would scarce have strength to perform it. He thought the distress was partly owing to the stimulus given to production in 1836 by the joint-stock banks, and partly to the improvements in machinery. There could be no increase of sales without diminution of prices; and everything was attempted in order to bring prices down. The only remedy now would be to cheapen food.

Mr JAMES opposed the motion, as did also Lord HOWICK, who thought it undesirable to postpone the prorogation of parliament; but advised that if the lately enacted measures of government should not give relief, ministers should assemble parliament before the close of the year, and make trial of the remedy now suggested. He hoped that the government would seriously reflect on the frightful condition of the country, and carry out the principles which they had avowed; for himself he looked forward to the approaching winter with dread. Averse as he was to further political movements, he could not disguise from himself the fact, that a great change was coming over the sentiments of the middle classes, which might lead to serious results.

Mr MORRISON said he could not recollect any former period of distress at all to be compared to the present in severity and extent; but he saw no reason for despair, either in the energy or skill of the country, which would still enable us to compete with all other nations. What was required was a market and equivalents for our goods; for he believed that there were no people in any part of the world who would not be glad to take more of our manufactures than they did, if it were not for the difficulty of making the exchange. Our superiority over all other countries still continued; to prove which he referred to some statistics from America.

He selected the United States because there we were met upon equal terms by Belgium, France, and Germany, and with an advantage over us in favour of American manufactures of 30 or 40 per cent. The total value of the principal articles of manufactured goods imported into the United States in the year he had stated was first of all of dyed, printed, or coloured cottons, 3,893,000 dollars, whereof the value of those imported into England was 3,114,000 dollars; total value of white cottons, 917,000 dollars, of those from England, 767,000 dollars; total value of hosiery, gloves, bindings, &c., 972,000 dollars, of those from England, 241,000 dollars. In these articles Saxony was underselling us for some years in this market, although she purchased the yarn at Manchester. This was owing to the cheapness of labour in that country. The total value of twist yarn and thread imported into the United States was 387,000 dollars, the value of those from England 373,000 dollars; total value of linens, bleached and unbleached, 4,179,000 dollars, value of those from England, 3,493,000 dollars. According to that statement, it did not appear at all necessary that we should have imposed 10d. upon the square yard as a protection upon our manufactures. Of cloths and kerseys also, America imported from us nearly the whole of her supply; so also in worsted hosiery, another article of which she imported largely, England sent her four-fifths of her supply. In silks, of course, as might be expected, the French possessing great advantages over us, beat us, and out of 7,000,000 of dollars imported, England supplied only 1,200,000. But it was to be borne in mind, that before Mr Huskisson made the change in our law regarding that article, we exported no silks at all. When he came down to the lower articles, as earthenware, hardware, and other articles, he found that our superiority over other countries was not less marked than in the former, with the exception of silks. He thought he had shown that the distress under which we were labouring had not been caused by the competition of foreign countries.

He then argued that it was because of our restrictive duties that our foreign commerce was so limited; and nothing but the adoption of free-trade principles would remedy the evil.

If we wished to extend our trade with the United States it could only be done by taking from them their meat and corn. We now took the greater part of our supply of cotton, and we took from them all the tobacco we used, therefore he saw no other means of extending our trade but by taking their provisions, of which they had abundance. America, of all other countries, seemed the best fitted for our trade, and we ought to cultivate it. Her population was agricultural, and, as in other countries, they were the masters, they returned the legislature and controlled it. They were not desirous of a high tariff, they had no wish to see a parcel of large manufacturing fortunes made at Lowell, because they knew it would be at their expense.

He thought the tariff would do some good, but it would not give so great a relief as Sir R. Peel had promised from it. He regretted that the fixed duty had not been adopted; and commented on the uncertainty which he considered inseparable from the sliding scale. The rapid increase of our population would, ere long, he was persuaded, compel the abolition of the duties upon food.

Mr G. PALMER contended that the distress arose from the cupidity

and selfishness of the manufacturers in connexion with the vicious system of credit which they had practised to so great an extent.

Mr ELLICE reviewed the history of the commercial transactions from 1819 (the date of Sir Robert Peel's well-known Currency act), and assigned, as a main cause of the distress, repeated tampering with the currency by the bank of England. He believed that the existing distress would be mitigated by a change in the corn law.

Sir C. NAPIER and Captain LAYARD supported the motion. Mr SCHOLEFIELD adduced statistical proofs of the great distress existing at Birmingham, as did Mr S. CRAWFORD of the deplorable condition of the people at Rochdale and Belfast. He contended that so long as the present system continued there would be no reasonable expectation of prosperity.

The population would never be relieved until the system of managing agricultural communities was changed, and a greater portion of the people were allowed to subsist by their own labour on the land. There would be a constant struggle of the capitalist against the workman, the former endeavouring to reduce the wages of the latter, and the latter being always the sufferer from the oppression of the former, until some mode were adopted to give the workman an opportunity of acquiring something like an independence to fall back upon by deriving support from the land. Some system was necessary to counteract the aggressions of the capitalist upon the labourer. The rich should be made in some manner responsible for the condition of the poor, which could only be done, either by permitting the poor to occupy and cultivate the land, or else by making the poor rates contribute to the increase of the wages of workmen.

Lord PALMERSTON fully admitted the distress, but could not support the resolutions, although he did not approve of the conduct of ministers.

He would have expected that they would not have contented themselves with expressions of regret for the distress, but have stated to the House some intention, or opened some views, of a practical remedy; but it seemed that they were not to receive any such assurance from the government. It appeared that the government were in a few weeks about to prorogue the parliament without having mentioned one step they would take to alleviate the distress. The members on the one hand were to be sent to their grouse shooting, to their pheasant shooting, to their hunting, and to their Christmas festivities [ironical cheers from the ministerial benches], and that so they were to rest till the month of February, as if the country was in a state of perfect prosperity, as if the people were thriving, happy, and contented; and, on the other hand, that the government was to remain during that period in total inactivity, with their arms folded and entirely motionless, without making an appeal to parliament, waiting for they knew not what events, expecting relief they knew not when or whence, but looking, he supposed, for some miraculous interference to relieve the evils which they did not attempt to remove.

The approaching harvest might be a good, but could not be an abundant one; and he thought the tariff was not of such a liberal character as to produce an effectual remedy. Their only way was to clear the channels of commerce, and open a trade regular, free, and unfettered (with no tax but a revenue duty), in corn and sugar. The distress arose from causes within their own control; and they would not labour in vain if they established a free communication with America. He then defended the policy of the late government in China and India as calculated to open a wide field for commerce; and being met with loud cries from the ministerial side of the house, he retorted that he had a right to infer that the ministers themselves approved of that policy; since they they had written to Lord Auckland very shortly after their accession, requesting him to continue in the government.

Lord STANLEY contended that much of the existing distress arose from causes over which human agency had no control; but he denied that government meant to sit still and do nothing.

When the noble lord asked what were the intentions of the present government, and asked whether they intended to sit by with folded arms, and not to apply themselves to the present distress, he assured the noble lord that he took a very imperfect view of the difficulties which he and his friends had left behind them. He admitted with the noble lord that the cause of the distress of this country was much beyond the reach of human legislation [no, no]. No! Would any one tell him that much of the difficulty and distress did not arise from causes beyond the power of legislation [no, no]? Would the boldest free-trader in the house say that there had not been the greatest aggravation of distress, in consequence of the three or four years of deficient harvests [cries of "you aggravate it"]? They aggravated it. Then, honourable members did not deny that much of the distress arose from causes without the reach of human powers.

He was here interrupted by loud cries of "the corn laws;" but he declared his fixed determination not to be induced to go into that question, and proceeded to assert that the government looked forward with hope to an earlier and more abundant harvest than usual. He took a review of the foreign policy of the whigs, and deplored the present wars and losses which were the fruits of it, and which tended greatly to increase the difficulties of the present government. He then condemned the motion before the House as worse than useless, and concluded without the least intimation of the intentions of government.

Mr O'CONNELL then moved the adjournment of the debate, which was opposed by Sir R. PEEL and Mr FERRAND, who called the speakers on the opposition benches "a set of humbugs." Mr HAWES resented this language, and wished to know why ministers had not made a House on Monday.

Sir R. PEEL said that the ministers had been occupied till half-past four o'clock with the investigation into the cowardly attack upon her Majesty, and had been greatly disappointed at the failure on Monday. He reminded the House that the supply had been postponed only because the public interest required that priority should be given to the tariff.

The House then divided, when there appeared for the adjournment 84; against it 173. Mr HUME then moved the same question, and Sir R. PEEL gave way. The debate was accordingly adjourned.

Thursday, July 7.

SAVINGS BANKS.

Mr HUME moved for a committee to inquire into the circumstances under which the money of the savings' banks had been appropriated to the public service in the years 1836 to 1841, both inclusive.

Mr GOULBURN resisted the motion on the ground that such an inquiry would not only be inconvenient and useless in itself, but injurious to the depositors, by leading them to withdraw their deposits under the mistaken apprehension of some insecurity.

Mr BARING also opposed the motion, and showed that no increase of public debt was created by this mere conversion of an unfunded into a funded debt. He contended that the security of the depositors was in no degree impaired by the practice, which, however, he on other grounds, admitted that it might be proper for parliament to take away from the treasury by law.

Mr WILLIAMS desired to see such a statute passed, for he thought it monstrous that such a power should reside with the treasury.

After a few words from Mr ESCOTT, and Mr HUME in reply, the House divided, when there appeared for the motion 34; against it 173.



MINISTERS' MONEY IN IRELAND.

Mr Sergeant MURPHY proposed a motion, pledging the House to consider the Act 17 and 18 Car. II., c. 7, with a view to the repeal of so much thereof as relates to the provision of ministers in cities and corporate towns in Ireland. In other words, the motion was one pledging the House to consider the propriety of abolishing what is called "ministers' money" in Ireland.

Mr Sergeant JACKSON opposed the motion.

Mr SHELL admitted that this was not a fit period of the session for such a discussion, but was yet persuaded that the question was only dormant, not dead. He should object to deprive any incumbent of his vested income, and he admitted that if this provision were to be abolished, a substitute could be found; but he thought that the fund of the extinguished bishoprics would answer this demand. Church rates in Ireland had been abrogated, because they were an obnoxious tax, and equally obnoxious was the impost called ministers' money. It did not derive its origin from the common law; it was imposed by statute, and by statute it might be repealed.

After some conversation, shared in by Mr SHAW, Mr MORGAN, Mr JOHN O'CONNELL, Sir R. H. INGLIS, Sir WILLIAM SOMERVILLE, Mr LITTON, Mr CALLAGHAN, and Lord ELIOT—who expressed his surprise that this grievance should now be brought forward for the first time, but admitted that a less objectionable mode might be found for remunerating the Irish city clergy—the House divided, when the motion was rejected by 85 to 56.

ELECTION PROCEEDINGS COMMITTEE.

A debate then arose on a proposition by Sir R. H. INGLIS, who claimed for all the interested parties a right of admission to the Election Compromise committee, which, however, has nearly finished its labours. Though his motion would be useless with respect to the present committee, he wished to establish the principle should any similar proceedings ever arise.

Mr ROEBUCK hoped that the house would not withdraw its confidence from the committee during the remainder of its proceedings, unless upon actual accusation of a misuse of its powers; and after observations from Mr ESCOTT and Mr LABOUCHERE, Sir ROBERT PEEL opposed the motion. Mr THOMAS DUNCOMBE moved, as an amendment, the previous question, which after a prolonged discussion was carried by 121 to 49.

FOREIGN CORN.

Mr BANNERMAN moved a resolution purporting that in consideration of the present state of the country it would be expedient, before the prorogation, to invest her Majesty in council with power to reduce or discontinue the import duties on corn, until six weeks after the commencement of the next session. He adduced former precedents in support of his motion, especially that of 1826, quoting the sentiments of Sir ROBERT PEEL, Lord STANLEY, and Lord ABERDEEN, uttered in that year in defence of a similar measure to that which he now proposed.

Mr WALLACE seconded the motion.

Mr GLADSTONE opposed the motion on account of its dangerous character. The circumstances attending the precedents adduced were different from those of the present time. There were also strong constitutional objections to giving such large discretionary powers to the government; it would be the more legitimate course to ask parliament to repeal the corn law. He hoped that the new corn law, in conjunction with a favourable harvest, of which they had a fair prospect, would cause such a quantity of corn to be liberated from bond, as would be a very seasonable relief to the country.

Mr WARD, Mr M. MILNES, and Mr P. M. STEWART, supported the motion, which was opposed by Lord WORSLEY, although he could not agree with Mr GLADSTONE in anticipating an abundant harvest on the contrary, he thought it would be below an average crop.

Sir R. PEEL explained the circumstances attending the precedent of 1826, and argued that it had been found on experience highly undesirable. He concluded that although the law should not have given such powers, a ministry would be bound, if the emergency should require it, to assume them, and to trust to parliament for a subsequent indemnity. He observed that government had just remodeled the corn law; the complaint made was, that the change would produce uncertainty, and so exclude the corn of the more distant countries; and now it was proposed to increase that uncertainty, and narrow that exclusion, by introducing a new element of doubt, an arbitrary discretion in Ministers. He thought they could in no way more directly encourage speculation. He vindicated the sliding scale; and observed that if prices continued to rise, the duty would fall to nothing without the exercise of any power by government.

Lord HOWICK argued that the measure for admitting corn for a temporary period free of duty, or at a low rate, would give relief without injuring the trade, by compelling the speculators to come into the market. He admitted that there were grave objections to the motion; but these were comparatively of a minor character when contrasted with actual circumstances.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL showed that every discussion on the corn law exposed the unsoundness of the principle of a sliding scale. He could not support the motion; but if circumstances arose which might imperatively call for such a measure during the recess, he thought the government might then assume the responsibility, and that parliament would grant indemnity.

Mr HUME also disliked investing ministers with a discretion; but he would agree to it now, because he could get nothing better for the relief of a people of whom thousands were dying daily.

The House then divided, when there appeared against Mr BANNERMAN's motion 175, for it 113, majority against it 62.

Friday, July 8.

DISTRESS OF THE COUNTRY.

The adjourned debate on Mr Wallace's resolutions was resumed by Mr O'CONNELL, who gave very affecting details of the distress in Ireland. He regretted much that the three ministers who had addressed the House had held out no hope of relief. To each of the arguments advanced by them successively he would answer, "The people were starving." He had a presentiment that something fatal was about to befall the nation, when he saw that the parliament was composed only of the wealthy classes, that they had been returned by the grossest bribery, and that the Anti-corn-law League was daily sitting in the metropolis. The experiment now proposed was a simple and practical

one—only to admit that corn for want of which the people were starving, and which was locked up only to profit the landlords.

Lord ELIOT quoted documents to show that the amount of distress in Ireland was exaggerated.

Mr ESCOTT accused Mr O'Connell of adding incentives to the perpetration of violence. He denied that the repeal of the corn laws would benefit the people; and took a favourable review of the measures of the present administration.

Mr P. STEWART, Lord CLEMENTS, and Mr MARSLAND, supported the motion, which was opposed by Mr BORTHWICK and Mr CHILDERS.

Mr M. PHILIPS was convinced that the distress and the trade with the United States would be speedily relieved, if their corn were now admitted; and he advised Sir R. Peel to put himself at the head of a movement party for free trade in food.

Mr R. YORKE, General JOHNSON, Mr GRIMSDITCH, Mr LEADER, and Mr C. BULLER, all gave their testimony to the great distress which prevails, but were at issue as to the causes to which it was to be traced and the remedies to be applied. Mr LEADER contended for an extension of the suffrage, whilst Mr BULLER dreaded the effect of a change in the electoral body. Mr EWART prophesied that Sir R. PEEL would be compelled to relinquish the corn law.

Mr CORDEN went at some length into the causes of distress, which he denied was to be attributed in any degree to the use of new machinery. He also scouted the word over-production; it meant only that the people were too industrious, which was absurd. The poverty was not more frightful in those towns where new machinery was used than in those where no improved machine had been introduced for two centuries. He went into particular cases of distress, and declared that such a condition of things could not endure through the coming winter. He did not say that the masses would rise and pull down the mansions around them; but he did say that affairs were drifting without rudder or compass to a state of indescribable confusion. Our best mechanics were leaving the country to people the west, to rival us in all the branches of mining and of manufacturing industry; and that was an irremediable evil. He had no party preference for Lord John Russell over Sir R. Peel; no man could envy the position of the latter; but Sir R. Peel must do something for the people before he closed the session.

Mr FERRAND applauded Sir R. Peel, and denounced the Anti-corn-law League in his usual style.

Mr VILLIERS reproached the House in general with its apathy, which he attributed to unbelief, since it was the idea of danger which alone moved their feelings. The people would not be satisfied with vague expressions of sympathy; they were not idle, and did not want charity, but justice.

He could state, from his own knowledge of the industrious classes, that there was nothing in the world they would not suffer sooner than become paupers; they wanted to have their labour free and unfettered, and to be fairly rewarded for it, and they wanted to have their rights, which that House refused them. They were not speculative theorists, but they wanted to enjoy in peace the fair produce of their industry; and when they saw that that was not allowed to them they called on their legislators to renounce their power, and by a change in their constitution to make way for other, and wiser, and honest representatives.

He argued that the natural remedy for the present starvation was cheap food. He dwelt at length upon the advantages of the American markets, now closed against us by the exclusion of foreign corn; and he contended that the present corn law was of no importance to the farmers, but only to the landlords.

Mr ROEBUCK thought the motion before the House was crude and objectionable, and recommended Mr Wallace to withdraw it.

Mr FIELDEN moved an adjournment, which Mr WALLACE deprecated, and intimated his willingness to modify his motion in any way which should be acceptable to his friends. Mr FIELDEN persisted, and Sir R. PEEL protested against the impediments thus opposed to the supply, and appealed to the justice of the House. A division then took place upon the motion for adjournment, when there appeared—against it, 255; for it, 24. Another adjournment was immediately moved, when the numbers were, 18 for it; against it, 213.

A third motion for adjournment was made, when the numbers were about the same. At length the House divided upon the original question, and the resolutions were negatived by a majority of 125; there being for them, 49; against them, 174.

The other orders of the day were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at three o'clock.

Monday, July 11.

THE CORN LAWS.

On the motion for the House to go into a committee of supply being submitted, Mr VILLIERS rose and moved that the corn laws be totally repealed. He would not go into the arguments he had so frequently used in favour of this motion, but he must say no satisfactory answer had been given on the subject, and therefore he again brought the question forward. He did not submit this motion to the House entirely on his own opinion and feelings; he was instructed to do so by a numerous and intelligent class of men, from all parts of the kingdom [hear]. The parties to whom he alluded were convinced that that House ought not to separate until some effectual remedy had been adopted for the great and alarming distress which existed. No one attempted to defend the existing law—it had all the bad effects of the old law—it was, in fact, a total failure [hear, hear]. The reduction of the duty had not lowered the price in grain, and he believed it was admitted on all sides that the alteration had not been attended with any benefit whatever. The general distress was admitted—it was admitted to its fullest extent; and therefore, surely the House ought not to separate before some remedy was provided. That distress had been attended with great increase of crime, particularly in stealing necessary articles of subsistence. The hon. member then proceeded to read a number of returns, setting forth the misery and distress which existed in various parts of the country, and called upon the House again to revise the law recently passed relating to the duty on corn, which it was admitted on all sides had failed to produce any remedy, or afford any relief. He concluded by moving for a committee to reconsider the corn laws.

Mr HUME seconded the motion; which was supported by Mr FIELDEN, who dwelt at length upon the intensity of the distress, and the imperative duty of the representatives of the people to do something to relieve it. He thought it quite allowable to stop the supplies.

It was a grievance so great and so pressing that he was ready to act his part in putting into force the old constitutional practice in such emergencies, of stopping the

supplies till the redress was conceded—not from factious motives, but from a sense of duty and the necessity of the case. Those opposed to this course would be the factious party. Were the advocates of repeal sincere? The attempts that must be made to stop the supplies would test them. The only way to support public credit much longer, which all parties were anxious to do, was to repeal the corn laws.

Mr AGLIONBY, Mr HAWES, and Mr HINDLEY, supported the motion, which was opposed by Mr HOWARD, Mr G. KNIGHT, Mr SCOTT, and Sir C. NAPIER.

Sir R. PEEL contended that whilst the hope of a diminution of the duty was kept alive by these discussions the new corn law had not fair play. That it had lowered, and was lowering, the price of wheat. He denied that the corn law was the cause of the distress, or that its repeal would remove the distress. The extension of machinery was one great cause of the distress, which he believed to be only temporary; and he had no doubt considerable relief would be derived from the recent alterations in the tariff, when they should have had time to operate; whilst the repeal of the corn laws, if it should even afford a temporary stimulus, would be followed by deep depression and stagnation. He deprecated a precipitate condemnation of his experiments, and declared his willingness to revise them should they be found, after a fair trial, to disappoint the hopes which he had formed of them.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL said the tone of the premier indicated no great confidence in his own measures. He attacked the principle of a sliding scale, and objected to the House going into a committee of supply without bringing forward some measure with regard to the corn laws that would tend to relieve the prevailing distress. He argued that a temporary relaxation of the restrictions on foreign corn would give immediate relief; and he thought that the patience and fortitude exhibited by the people, under circumstances of the most unparalleled suffering, entitled them to this indulgence, without any reference whatever to the permanent alteration of the corn laws, the consideration of which might be afterwards taken. He then enumerated the various measures of the late government which the present ministry had first opposed and then adopted; and concluded by declaring his determination to vote for the motion.

Mr CORDEN contended that the case of the corn-law repealers had been left wholly untouched. He denied that the distress was caused by the mere displacement of labour, and argued that the repeal of the corn laws would not only alleviate distress, but would eventually render land more valuable than it was at present.

After some further discussion the House divided, when there appeared for the committee on the corn laws, 117; for the committee of supply, 231; majority against the repeal of the corn laws, 114.

SUPPLY.

The House then resolved itself into a committee of supply, and Mr HUME objected to their voting away the public money at that hour (nearly one o'clock), but Sir R. PEEL persisted, and two votes were agreed to. On the third being put, Mr WILLIAMS moved that the resolutions be reported. Sir R. PEEL opposed the motion, and the House divided, when there appeared for the motion 21; against it 200.

Another vote was then agreed to, and on the motion of Mr HUME, two other divisions took place on the question of reporting progress, the numbers in the first were 19 to 185—in the second, 17 to 178.

Sir R. PEEL said if it was the object of the hon. member to stop the supplies, the sooner that battle was fought the better. Mr HUME said he had no such object, but he must oppose voting away the public money at such a late hour of the night. After a long conversation, Sir R. PEEL consented to adjourn the other votes until this evening.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

On Thursday evening the entire of the Customs' bill with all its schedules, went through committee, the only division which occurred being on Earl STANHOPE's proposition, that the duty on cattle imported should be by weight instead of by head. This had only 8 to support it, against 44.

On Friday night the Mines' and Collieries' bill was referred to a select committee, Lord HATHERTON intimating that on Tuesday he would move that evidence be taken by the committee respecting the bill. The New Tariff bill was read a third time and passed, after a division, when 52 voted in its favour, and 9 against it. The Railway bill was read a second time.

On Monday Lord BROUGHAM brought forward the motion of which he had given notice, on the distress of the country. After expressing his sense of the importance of the subject, he proceeded to give many melancholy illustrations of the extent and intensity of the distress which prevails through the country, especially in the manufacturing districts. The effect of our restricted system of commerce was, he alleged, to drive their workmen to emigrate, and also to induce men of capital to transfer it to other countries, where it might be employed to greater advantage than at home. He concluded by moving that the subject be referred to a select committee of their lordships, of the same nature as that appointed in 1832, to inquire into the distress which then existed in the agricultural districts; and he conjured them to accede to the motion in the following impressive strain:—

He should implore their lordships to weigh the matter maturely before they refused their assent. Let them reflect that the winter was coming on, that the already well-nigh intolerable distress would, in all probability, be still greater in that hard season, and that the sufferings of the people might reach a point which would well-nigh defy endurance. At all events, he would repeat, happen what might, he had the consolation to feel that he had discharged his duty, and freed himself from responsibility; and, however deeply he might deplore, and most deeply he should deplore, any more fearful consequences from the existing state of things than had hitherto arisen, he felt that he should not be answerable for them; and he trusted in God that their lordships generally would take the same means of relieving themselves from what might turn out to be an awful responsibility.

The Earl of RIFON objected to the motion, on the ground that the object was to repeal the corn laws which had been settled by a bill that had just been passed, and it would be unwise to disturb them. He also contended, that to go into a committee without the certainty of granting what was required, would be most mischievous.

Earl STANHOPE opposed the motion, and Lord KINNAIRD supported it.

The Marquis of CLANRICARDE thought inquiry necessary, and unless the government made some declaration of what remedy they proposed, he should vote for the motion.

Lord MELBOURNE bore testimony to the ability with which the question had been introduced. He considered it their duty to provide against the distress, which prevailed to such a great extent. He

conceived that there had been ample discussion on the corn laws, and he certainly was not one of those who attributed the present distress to the corn laws alone. He, therefore, could not see what advantage would arise from an inquiry into those laws, in reference to the existing distress, and could not support the motion.

The Earl of RADNOR thought there were good grounds for inquiry, and he would support the motion made for that purpose.

The House then divided, and the motion was lost by a majority of 61 to 14.

THE REVENUE.

Abstract of the Net Produce of the Revenue of Great Britain, in the Years and Quarters ended 5th July, 1841 and 1842, showing the Increase or Decrease thereof.

| | YEARS ENDED JULY 5th, | | | |
|---|-----------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1841. | 1842. | Increase. | Decrease. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Customs | 19,410,877 | 19,449,735 | 38,858 | .... |
| Excise | 12,613,397 | 12,559,397 | .... | 54,000 |
| Stamps | 6,706,288 | 6,649,087 | .... | 57,201 |
| Taxes | 4,372,319 | 4,440,162 | 67,843 | .... |
| Post-office | 433,000 | 539,000 | 106,000 | .... |
| Crown Lands | 147,500 | 180,000 | 32,500 | .... |
| Miscellaneous | 104,180 | 567,327 | 463,147 | .... |
| Total Ordinary Revenue | 43,787,561 | 44,384,708 | 708,348 | 111,201 |
| Imprest and other Monies .. | 345,681 | 417,236 | 71,555 | .... |
| Repayments of Advances for Public Works | 538,983 | 535,456 | .... | 3,527 |
| Total Income | 44,672,225 | 45,337,400 | 779,903 | 114,728 |
| Deduct Decrease | | | 114,728 | .... |
| Increase on the Year | | | 665,175 | .... |

| | QUARTERS ENDED JULY 5th, | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------|-----------|-----------|
| | 1841. | 1842. | Increase. | Decrease. |
| | £ | £ | £ | £ |
| Customs | 4,848,586 | 4,422,191 | .... | 426,395 |
| Excise | 2,795,312 | 2,890,100 | 94,788 | .... |
| Stamps | 1,680,821 | 1,698,379 | 17,558 | .... |
| Taxes | 2,030,696 | 2,059,239 | 28,543 | .... |
| Post-office | 119,000 | 154,000 | 35,000 | .... |
| Crown Lands | 30,000 | 30,000 | .... | .... |
| Miscellaneous | 18,235 | 213,757 | 195,522 | .... |
| Total Ordinary Revenue | 11,522,650 | 11,467,666 | 371,411 | 426,395 |
| Imprest and other Monies .. | 197,985 | 267,530 | 69,545 | .... |
| Repayments of Advances for Public Works | 143,540 | 102,552 | .... | 40,988 |
| Total Income | 11,864,175 | 11,837,748 | 440,956 | 467,383 |
| Deduct Increase ..... |  |  | .... | 440,956 |
| Decrease on the Quarter ..... |  |  | .... | 26,427 |

Income and Charge on the Consolidated Fund, in the Quarters ended 5th July, 1841 and 1842.

| | QUARTERS ENDED 5th JULY, | |
|---|--------------------------|------------|
| | 1841. | 1842. |
| INCOME. | | |
| | £ | £ |
| Customs | 4,676,712 | 4,422,191 |
| Excise | 2,813,713 | 2,905,191 |
| Stamps | 1,680,821 | 1,698,379 |
| Taxes | 2,030,696 | 2,059,239 |
| Post-office | 119,000 | 154,000 |
| Crown Lands | 30,000 | 30,000 |
| Miscellaneous | 18,235 | 213,757 |
| Imprest and other Monies | 197,985 | 267,530 |
| Repayment of Advances | 143,540 | 102,552 |
| | 11,710,702 | 11,852,739 |
| To Cash brought to this Account to be applied to pay off Deficiency Bills ..... | .... | 200,000 |
| | 11,710,702 | 12,052,739 |
| CHARGE. | | |
| | £ | £ |
| Permanent Debt | 8,185,079 | 8,276,954 |
| Terminable Annuities | 672,367 | 664,358 |
| Interest on Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund | 22,822 | 15,164 |
| Sinking Fund ..... | .... | .... |
| Civil List | 97,122 | 97,382 |
| Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund | 547,396 | 489,799 |
| For Advances and to pay off Exchequer Bills issued for Advances | 192,550 | 325,734 |
| Total Charge | 9,717,336 | 9,869,391 |
| Surplus | 1,993,366 | 2,183,348 |
| | 11,710,702 | 12,052,739 |
| Amount of Exchequer Bills issued to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund for the Quarter ended 5th April, 1842, and paid off out of the growing Produce of that Fund for the Quarter ended 5th July, 1842 ..... | .... | 5,063,216 |
| Amount issued in the Quarter ended 5th July, 1842, in part of the Sums granted by Parliament out of the Consolidated Fund, for Supply Services | 4,620,351 | .... |
| The Surplus of the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended 5th July, 1842 | 2,183,348 | 2,437,003 |
| The probable Amount of Exchequer Bills required to meet the Charge on the Consolidated Fund, Quarter ended 5th July, 1842 | | 7,500,219 |

It is understood that government has determined to allow the grinding of foreign corn in bond for the manufacture of biscuit to be sent abroad for government use.—*Morning Post*.

GENERAL POLITICS.

FOREIGN.

FRANCE.

Paris papers contain but little news, except that connected with the elections. The total number of candidates at the elections for the new Chamber of Deputies appears, from a table which has been published by one of the journals, to be about 700. Of these nearly 300 are of the opposition, and the remainder conservatives. Many of the candidates are proposed in more than one college. Private letters mention that the elections in the capital would certainly be in favour of the conservative interest, which comprises the Mole and Guizot party. Out of the twenty-four colleges into which Paris is divided, it was not expected that more than six or seven would return opposition candidates. All the troops in Paris and the environs had orders to be in readiness to act at a moment's notice, nor were any allowed to quit the barracks. There was, however, no indication that any disturbance was contemplated.

A deputation of the manufacturers of Ghent, about 150 in number, waited on the Belgian ministers of finance and foreign affairs on Wednesday last, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the negotiations between the French and the Belgian governments on the linen question, and to mention a report that immense quantities of British thread were being introduced into Belgium, for the purpose of establishing a vast *entrepot*, and introducing this thread by land into France, to the injury of the Belgian trade, in the event of an exception being made in its favour by the country. They were informed by the ministers that there was every prospect of the two governments coming to an understanding which would be favourable to the Belgian manufacturers; but that if this should not be the case, the ministry would promptly adopt the efficacious and vigorous measures rendered necessary by the French ordinance. The ministers added, that there was no truth in the report that large masses of British threads were coming into Belgium, for the purpose alluded to by the deputation, and that if this should be attempted, means would be taken in order to check it.

SPAIN.

Private letters from Madrid state that the parliamentary session would be concluded sooner than had been expected, because of the number of deputies who had already quitted Madrid to return to the provinces. All opposition to the ministry having been withdrawn, the supplies were nearly all granted. During the sitting of the congress on the 2d inst the ministers for foreign affairs and for the finance department respectively announced themselves favourable to a modification of the existing tariff. Count Almodovar added, that such a measure was indispensable, as negotiations were at present pending with Belgium for a commercial treaty, which could not be concluded unless a bill was passed authorising the ministers to modify the existing tariff.

The *Madrid Gazette* of the 1st inst contains a circular from the minister of war, commanding the organisation of detachment of troops for the purpose of putting an end to smuggling.

A telegraphic express states that General Zurbano has made his entry into Barcelona. On the 4th the Cortes granted the ministers the authority required by them to receive the contributions.

PORTUGAL.

Lisbon news to the 4th inst was brought by the Braganza steamer. The treaty with England having both been concluded, had been signed by the two plenipotentiaries, Lord Howard de Walden and the Duke of Palmella, and were forwarded to England for ratification by the Braganza. The tariff negotiation was going on with probability of a successful issue, a second report being about to be presented by the Portuguese commissioners. The treaties were to be ratified in two months at furthest, and it was expected that by that time the tariff question would be satisfactorily arranged. The Portuguese Cortes were to be opened by the Queen in person on the 10th. The conclusion of the treaties with England would form a prominent feature of the royal speech. Changes were expected in the composition of the ministry; but as yet none had taken place.

AFRICA.

A telegraphic despatch from Paris announces as follows:—"The Governor-general of the French possessions in Africa to the Minister of War. The province of Titterie has been constituted. On the 4th all the chiefs received their investiture; their cavalry is to march with the column of General de Bar. General Changarnier has gained, on the 1st of July, on the right bank of the higher Chetef, fifty leagues from Algiers, a signal advantage over the Kalifat Sidi Embarek. He has taken three thousand prisoners, and fifteen or twenty thousand head of battle, of which fifteen hundred are camels. This brilliant success will have great political results."

AMERICA.

The packet ship *England* arrived in the Mersey on Sunday. She left New York on the 20th ult., and brings papers from the above city to the day of her sailing, but they contain no intelligence of importance. There is no further decided information regarding the proceedings of Lord Ashburton in the matter of the boundary question. Public opinion was, however, in favour of an amicable termination to the pending negotiations. The Provisional and Temporary Tariff bill had been ordered to be read a third time in the Senate; but it was generally supposed that it would ultimately be vetoed by President Tyler. Some of the New York journals had recommended a resumption of the state debts by the general government. Some barbarous murders and other outrages had been committed in the neighbourhood of Natchez by two negroes who had run away from their employers. One of the miscreants was taken, and lynched by his captors. The manner of his death was most horrible: he was tied to a tree, around which were piled burning faggots; but, having burst his bonds, his sufferings were shortened by several shots from the rifles of those around him.

From Buenos Ayres we learn that a stop had been put to the horrible assassinations which for some time previous were so numerous. General Lopez, of Santa Fé, was completely defeated by Oribe on the 20th at San Pedro.

DOMESTIC.

SCOTLAND.

The number of the unemployed are still gradually on the increase in Glasgow; but we rejoice to know that every possible exertion is made by the relief committee to meet the emergencies of the case. There are employed at out and in-door labour from 1,300 to 1,400 individuals, and a very large number are daily supplied with soup and bread rations from the soup kitchens. The latter have, however, been rather on the decrease, a circumstance highly complimentary to the unemployed, as the falling off in the applicants to the soup kitchen keeps pace with the increase of the numbers for whom work is provided; thus showing, that if work can be obtained, they have no desire to draw sustenance from an eleemosynary source.—*Glasgow Paper*.

A riot took place in the town of Dumfries on Saturday, the 2nd inst, in consequence of a report that the grain dealers had entered into a combination for the purpose of raising the price of oatmeal. A mob of about 500 men, women, and boys collected, assaulted most of the bakers' and grain dealers' shops in the town with stones, smashing the windows, and in some cases endangering the inmates. Measures, however, were at length taken to terminate these lawless proceedings, and when the special constables had mustered in sufficient force, the mob was dispersed. Twelve persons have been apprehended. To-day an effort was made to rescue a juvenile prisoner, but the attempt proved abortive.—*Dumfries Courier*.

A ridiculous prophecy, resembling that which threatened an awful earthquake to the metropolis, is now rife in the neighbourhood of Inverness. War is to be the medium of destruction in the present case. "The sword, the sword, is coming upon Scotland," and, according to the Highland seer, the enemy will, in August next, land upon that side of the sea, or Cromarty Frith, on which the sun rises. Houses and villages are to be burned, and the last battle is to be fought on the mountain opposite Lochassie. This nonsensical farrago has been widely circulated, and is believed by hundreds—we might almost say thousands—of the country people. Meetings are held on the subject, and the utmost consternation is evinced. It is said, also, that appearances of fighting men and strange figures are witnessed in the sky, near Leys; and it is not improbable that some atmospheric phenomena may have happened to cause this impression. The heat of the season has been intense, and one optical illusion of the kind, by refraction, undoubtedly took place at Fort George. It is lamentable to think how long the empire of superstition and credulity has been maintained over the human mind.—*Inverness Courier*.

Father Mathew will visit Glasgow on the 15th of August. Arrangements are about to be made by the teetotal committees to testify their admiration and respect for this illustrious advocate of their principles, and to make his visit as profitable as possible to all classes of the community. A public procession will take place on the occasion.—*Glasgow Chronicle*.

Sir Robert Stopford, the governor of Greenwich hospital, has complied with the recommendations of the select committee on national monuments, of 1841, of which Mr Hume was chairman, to admit the public free on two days in the week. Orders have been given that the painted hall and chapel shall be open free of charge on Mondays and Fridays, from 10 to 7 o'clock in summer, and from 10 to 3 o'clock in winter.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, July 13.

In the house of Commons last night, Sir R. PEEL brought in a bill to enable government to dispense with the forms observed in the examination of persons charged with high treason, and to inflict transportation and personal chastisement on persons guilty of the wanton and cruel modes of alarm practised lately. The bill was read a first and second time, and is to be committed to-day.

The House then went into committee on the Poor Law bill, and a debate arose on the propriety of going on with it this session. Sir R. PEEL said the government were placed in a difficult position, but he thought the House should decide how long the commission was to continue. Several members entreated him to pass a temporary bill until next session. Sir JAMES GRAHAM at length said they were willing to concede the point of pressing the entire bill if the House would decide as to the continuance of the commission. The first clause was then put, and Mr SHARMAN CRAWFORD moved an amendment for shortening the duration of the commission to one year, resting his argument on the principles of constitutional liberty as well as on the ground of humanity. After a long debate, the House divided, when there appeared—for the amendment, 92; against it, 164. General JOHNSON, Mr FIELDEN, and others, pressed the question of an adjournment to a division, but without success, and the first clause, which proposes to continue the commission until 1847, was passed by a majority of 146 to 26.

The subject of singing in classes came under discussion in both houses, on the presentation of petitions for a grant of money. The system was much praised; and an intimation was held out by the members of the government, that no objection would be made to an additional grant, if it were thought improper to apply any part of the present grant of £30,000 for educational purposes, to the support of the institution.

The Anti-corn Law conference met again yesterday, and their time was occupied in giving further details of distress, and in commenting upon the debates in both houses on the previous evening. A vote of thanks was passed to Lord Brougham, and Messrs Villiers and Fielden, and the meeting adjourned till to-day.

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE, THIS DAY.

The supply of English wheat is moderate, of foreign large; the market is dull, and prices generally may be quoted 1s. lower than on Monday.

NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"Charles Brooker" and "James Humphrys" received.
 We have referred all applications for back numbers of the *Nonconformist* to the Correspondent who has them to dispose of, and must now leave the matter in his hands.
 "Paideuses" is far too long for our columns.
 "J. T." we are reluctantly obliged to decline, as being somewhat too abstract for a popular journal.
 "Omega." We have in view the change he recommends, but must await the means for its accomplishment.
 "A Non-Elector." We thank him for the hint. We cannot always do as we could wish.
 "H. Hughes." We are unable to give him the information he requires.

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The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, JULY 13, 1842.

SUMMARY.

THE review of the week's proceedings leaves upon our minds a result similar to that which we always feel when we observe men attempting to overcome some gigantic evil by means obviously inadequate. Whether we cast our eye over the recent protracted debate in the house of Commons, or glance at the proceedings of the Anti-corn-law conference, or listen to statements of distress made at a meeting of dissenting ministers, or look at notices of motions yet to be submitted to the people's House, or compute the sum raised by the circular letters of the Queen to give relief to our starving manufacturers, we see nothing but weak and incompetent means energetically but fruitlessly employed to secure an end, with which they must grapple at disadvantage. The effect of this mode of carrying on the war with aristocracy is painfully monotonous. Large majorities, in both houses of parliament, attest the fact that neither eloquence, nor threats, nor earnest supplications, nor symptoms of social convulsion, nor an unwonted decline in the customs revenue, can move a combination of landlords an inch beyond their purpose.

Of the proceedings of the Anti-corn-law conference, we have spoken in another place. The division on Lord Brougham's motion in the house of Lords, and upon Mr Villiers's motion in the house of Commons on Monday night, proves most decisively that nothing is at present to be hoped for from the tactics of the Anti-corn-law League. Their delegates may sit until the rising of parliament, may assemble at Palace yard day by day to prove the existence of distress which no one doubts, and to encourage expectations of relief which all men see to be delusive—they may interrupt public business and spend public money, but we beg to tell these gentlemen, in a spirit of friendly caution, that many of their best friends begin to designate their sayings and doings by the term "humbug." It is useless to conceal the truth. Few of the respectable delegates themselves are satisfied with the sincerity or the policy of the course at present pursued; and the numerous allusions made by various speakers to the question of the suffrage, shows that there is a growing conviction in the public mind, that the aristocracy can only be put down by an agitation, having for its basis the abolition, not of a single branch of monopoly, but of monopoly in its very source.

Saving a little outbreak of Sir Robert Inglis's pious hatred of anti-corruptionists, vented in a motion which could not substantially affect the proceedings of Mr Roebuck, but which was designed to cast upon them its dark shadow, parliament has been occupied in discussing the condition-of-England question. The motion of Mr Wallace, on the distress of the country, appeared constructed for the sole purpose of raising a debate, and this it had sufficient virtue to accomplish. Ample evidence of the terrible privations of the people was produced; ample commendations lavished upon them for their patience under suffering—but how could legislation, it was asked, relieve them? Our own opinion coincides with that of the Duke of Sussex, that our present corn laws, although they certainly aggravate, cannot be held responsible for all the evils which afflict the country. Mr Ellice of Coventry mentioned the tampering with the currency, Mr D'Israeli the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, Lord Stanley a succession of deficient harvests. To these concurrent causes of depression, others not less obvious might be added—others resulting more immediately from the class policy of our aristocratic rulers. The truth is, our constitution has for centuries past been troubled with weaknesses, and infirmities, which during a state of general health were scarcely perceptible; but active disease having set in, they are the first to show themselves, and topical remedies, however they may palliate the mischief, can scarcely be expected, except by the dupes of quackery, to remove it. Mr Wallace's motion found 49 supporters; Lord Brougham's, which was for inquiry only, no more than 14.

The first operations of the income tax have produced, as might have been expected, no little grumbling. The dividends in course of payment at the Bank of England, whatever may be their several amounts, are shorn of seven-pence in the pound, and those whose incomes are below 150*l.* a year, are laid under the necessity to pass through a complicated process in order to obtain the drawback. This is the beginning of mischief for the middle classes. When the inquisitorial powers of the commissioners come into full play, the

ranks of the discontented will receive a rapid augmentation—an augmentation which we fear the new tariff, designed as a set-off against the income tax, and now the law of the land, will not avail to prevent.

For the progress of the complete suffrage cause, we must refer our readers to the intelligence contained in our columns of this week, and beg to direct especial notice to the account of that triumphant success which has followed Mr Vincent's visit to the metropolis of the north. We trust the election of Mr Sturge for Nottingham will speedily set this accomplished lecturer free to continue his progress through the United Kingdom.

PREJUDICES AGAINST COMPLETE SUFFRAGE.
POPULAR INSURRECTIONS.

CLOSELY connected with the subject of last week's article stands that which we are now about to notice. The phenomenon to be investigated is a curious one. The middle classes of this empire have a great abhorrence of what is called "physical force"—but only when employed by the people. They cede to the aristocracy a monopoly of violence. Bloodshed committed by trained legions, under the command of regularly appointed officers, they look upon with strange forbearance. Cabinet ministers may, in pursuit of a policy palpably unjust, unsheath the sword, and make it smoke with the blood of myriads ere it is replaced in the scabbard, without awakening indignation; men aiming at the overthrow of oppression, beneath which themselves and their families are well nigh crushed, cannot invoke physical violence without producing one universal burst of execration. Nothing can overmatch the marvelous inconsistency of the middle classes in this respect. In one and the same breath they will toast our army, and denounce the wickedness of working out political ends by other than moral and peaceable means. At one moment they will all but deify martial heroism; at the next, they cannot find terms of abhorrence sufficiently burning to brand the wretches who would carve out their freedom with the sword. A successful soldier is the idol of English society; an unsuccessful leader of a popular insurrection is a monster whom all may curse. Chartered violence, no matter what its object, receives every mark of honour; but unchartered violence—oh! name it not, it is the unpardonable crime. The heel which tramples on the worm may be admired, but the worm which turns in resentment upon the heel deserves to be smashed and annihilated.

Will our readers pardon us for a moment or two? We cannot but be aware of the delicate nature of the ground on which we stand. We here proclaim, as we have often done before, our un-mixed detestation of "physical force." It is our devout belief that no one object, however important, however necessary to the well-being of man, is purchased at the expense of human life, without bringing with it a blighting curse. But violence is violence, by whomsoever practised. In the eye of the Supreme, it makes no difference whether the instigators and perpetrators of it be clothed in ermine, or in fustian; and we must take leave to doubt the almost unquestioned virtue of those feelings, which are not sufficiently sensitive to be shocked at the slaughter of ten thousand Chinese, Affghans, or Syrians, in support of objects which no principle of morality can justify, but which recoil with horror at the remotest prospect of working out great political truths by an appeal to "the law of the stronger." We think, that considering the atmosphere in which our labouring classes have been educated, the maxims which pass current in what is designated polite society, the honours paid to martial victors, the pains taken to instil into the bosoms of our people a reverence for disciplined and successful violence, that popular insurrections are not after all so wonderful, not to be judged of with so inexorable a severity as to justify the middle classes in withholding all sympathy from the oppressed who have been mad enough to attempt them.

There can be no doubt whatever that the cause of political reform has suffered incalculable mischief from the frenzy which possessed and actuated many of its abettors some three or four years since. Those disturbances of social order which occurred simultaneously in the north and west of this kingdom—instigated, for the most part, by cowards who slunk from personal exposure—approved only by the most reckless and dissolute portion of our industrious population—managed without skill, and productive of nothing but misery, caused in the mind of society a revulsion of feeling in respect of the suffrage, which is yet far from having subsided. The character of the means then employed tarnished the end sought to be accomplished by them. Principles in themselves reasonable and just, became associated with crime, confusion, and anarchy. Truth, as in olden times, was condemned and vilified for the wickedness of its professors. Reasonable men held it a virtue to load it with execration. Men of religion devoutly frowned upon it. Unoffending principles were stripped naked, scourged, pilloried, kicked out of the pale of society, and burnt in the forehead as traitorous impostors. Public indignation pursued them with unrelenting zeal, and now it turns out, as it has often done before, that the principles were not to blame, but the men who sought by improper means to secure their triumph. Nevertheless, prejudice once created spreads like poppies in a wheat field—or rather like twitch grass, which requires several seasons effectually to root it out. We shall do our best to kill it—but we acknowledge we are not over sanguine of complete success.

The only justification which can be alleged with any show of reason in favour of this prejudice is, that they who have proved their readiness to resort to physical violence, with a view to change the institutions of the country, have thereby demonstrated their unfitness for the suffrage. This argument, if it be good for anything, covers a much wider space of ground than will suit the purposes of

those who employ it. It goes to the disfranchisement, not merely of the labouring classes, but of the entire nation. It sweeps our present constituencies clean of well nigh every voter. For, surely, it is unfair to urge it to the disadvantage of one class only, when all others are equally exposed to its application. We beg, therefore, not indeed to pronounce an acquittal of those who took part in the insurrections adverted to, but to mention such extenuating circumstances as may help us to form a just judgment between man and man. Let it not be said, we are thus giving a tacit sanction to violence. This is neither the object nor the tendency of our remarks. All we mean to affirm is this, that it is nothing more than reasonable, in the middle classes, ere they justify the exclusion of the millions from political power on the ground of a few lamentable outbreaks, to take into account the various influences, the operation of which upon the minds of the unenfranchised mainly contributed to push them on to crime.

At one of these we have already glanced. It ought not to be forgotten that we ourselves are but too assiduous to sow the seeds which want nothing but circumstances to quicken and mature into popular insurrection. We give an honoured niche in the temple of history to those who have successfully wielded the sword, whether for conquest or for the overthrow of oppression. Physical force, when turned against ourselves, may stir up our indignation; but, when turned against others by ourselves, we exalt to honour. We are perpetually, through every channel of publicity, pouring a full tide of language which can serve only to stimulate man's natural propensity to fight. Our statesmen, up to this day, refer to deeds of blood and devastation as identified with the reputation of our country, and express themselves ready to make any sacrifice, even of principle and of morality, to preserve untarnished the glory of our arms. We pay court to military renown—we give pensions and peerages to our physical-force heroes—we waft after them our wishes for their success—and feast them, and ring acclamations in their ears, upon their return home. We thus gild over the criminality of violence, and throw around bloodshed a perfume of approbation. Our labouring classes grow up in the midst of this. Their minds, their dispositions, their principles, necessarily reflect, more or less, the hue of prevailing opinion; and take a deep tinge from surrounding maxims, habits, and circumstances. Whence, then, are we to expect them to imbibe correct notions of the wickedness of resorting to physical force? and where is the probability that when, according to their judgment of the case, they may serve by this weapon their own political purposes, they will in that case, and in that case only, discover the guilt of seeking national ends by destructive and barbarous means? We who have been so diligent in sowing dragon's teeth, have no right to be surprised at the appearance of armed men. "We do not gather grapes of thorns."

To us, we confess, the conduct of some portion of the public press, in reference to this matter, has been an inexplicable mystery. Professedly religious publications have exhibited either the monstrous hypocrisy, or the more extraordinary self-delusion, of uttering exclamations of horror at the very occasional excesses of our labouring population, and of pronouncing upon them the sternest condemnation, holding up to public detestation the few who ventured to plead a single extenuating circumstance on their behalf, and identifying them with Jacobins and revolutionists; whilst, at the same moment, they were harrying on the hounds of war upon the inoffensive Chinese, and evincing a savage joy in the prospect of bombarding Pekin, worthy only of an era of semi-civilisation. And are these war-stimulating, war-approving, war-exulting journals, to poison the minds of the middle classes with prejudices against the suffrage by denunciations of the brutal propensities of the mob, when they themselves show every disposition to promote violence, but the courage necessary to take personal part in it? How do they prove themselves worthier to possess political power than the classes they denounce? Of that very crime, which they hold to be a sufficient bar to the extension of the franchise to their poorer fellow-countrymen, themselves are guilty threefold deep. Aye! and then they thrust before the public eye their religious abhorrence of physical-force doctrines!

We hold the insurrectionary movements already alluded to, to have been grave offences against morality and social order. We nevertheless deem it but fair to take into consideration the force of education, and especially of example. But a few years anterior to those riots which are so much to be deplored, the middle classes were engaged in a mortal struggle with aristocracy. What was their conduct? Did they not openly, avowedly, array against it the physical force of the millions? Were they not on the eve of marching up to the metropolis, hundreds of thousands of fighting men, under the guidance of military officers? We saw nothing at that time of their zeal against violence—heard none of their indignant denunciations of it? Their demonstration succeeded—the Reform bill was passed. Was there anything strange that the labouring class should seek to repeat this experiment, when their own enfranchisement was the object? Even under this training, the outbreaks were very partial; and every one must admit, all are forward to admit, that of late, under privations awfully protracted, they have exemplified an admirable forbearance. Away, then, with the prejudice, which is as unworthy of us as it is injurious to them! The political movement now in progress is essentially a movement for peace and good order, based upon a renunciation of physical force. The readiest way to induce the discontented to throw away the sword is to give them the franchise.

THE ANTI-CORN LAW CONFERENCE.

We had imagined that the conference which met in London in the early part of the year, would have been the last which the League

would deem it expedient to convene. Such, however, is not the case. Our columns of this week, contain an abridged report of a further effort made by delegates from various parts of the country to wring from our present legislature the repeal of the obnoxious corn laws. We are consequently under the necessity, which otherwise we would gladly avoid, of making comments upon their proceedings, which we fear may lay us open to the imputation of losing all concern for the establishment of free trade, in our anxiety to promote the cause of complete suffrage. Nevertheless, we feel it incumbent upon us to give a frank and fearless utterance to our opinions. We are not willing to offend, but neither can we consent to suppress or to colour our own views, in order to escape censure even from our best friends.

Upon the policy of calling this conference, we have but few words to say. After the mode in which the question of the corn laws has been deliberately dealt with by a landlords' parliament; after the division upon Mr Villiers's motion in the house of Commons, and upon Lord Brougham's in the house of Lords; after the full experience of Sir Robert Peel's bill, of its hollowness and worthlessness, at this late period too of the session, the council of the League, we should suppose, could entertain little hope, that by means of another conference, they would be able to secure a practical realisation of their wishes. Not the most sanguine of them could indulge even the remotest expectation of forcing, by the present demonstration, the legislative majority ranged against them. We are not, however, prepared to condemn this sudden and somewhat unexpected movement. We have our own views as to the only feasible method of securing the triumph of free trade principles, and these views we have again and again expressed. The League, however, may have thought it expedient to make one further onset upon monopoly, if not to put themselves in the right, at all events to put their adversaries most clearly in the wrong. The awful distress which now pervades from end to end our manufacturing districts, threatening at no distant period a social outbreak, may, we fairly admit, have pressed upon their minds the importance of throwing the responsibility of what may ensue in the coming winter, upon the governing classes. Thus they will deprive our rulers of every vestige of excuse, for the League has not ceased to warn them, even beyond the eleventh hour.

Nor are we disposed to deny that, fruitless as this conference will certainly prove, in reference to the immediate object for which it is convened, it will advance the cause of good government by demonstrating the necessity for a re-construction of our legislative bodies. If ever events spoke loudly to the representatives of the people to throw overboard, for once, all selfish considerations, and merge their private and sordid views in sincere efforts for the salvation of the country—they do so at the present moment. They cannot now be deaf to remonstrance, and practically heedless of the wide-spread destitution which afflicts the land, without giving the most indisputable evidence that, as a representative body, they are useless beyond redemption. Hundreds of thousands, whose belief in regard to the policy of the "National Complete Suffrage Union" has wavered, will be compelled by this last ineffectual attempt of the League, to join the ranks of political reformers. They will become convinced at last of what we have long laboured to impress upon their minds, that for all the great interests of the nation, the most sweeping change is greatly to be preferred to things as they are. They have indulged the visionary hope that, contrary to all the laws of society, things would mend of themselves; that men in the possession of exclusive, and well nigh irresponsible power, would learn to legislate for national rather than selfish interests; that a parliament returned by bribery and intimidation would refrain from defraying the cost of its own election at the expense of the people. These men will, by the issue of the present conference, be finally undeceived. Facts will blow away their fond and dreamy speculations, and they will find that human nature, placed in a position of power which is virtually despotic, is invariably true to itself—invariably sacrifices all that stands between it and the accomplishment of its own selfish purposes.

Of the conference itself, we may remark that the falling off in the amount of the numbers composing it, furnishes a tolerably decisive evidence of the hopeless aspect under which the matter presents itself to the minds of the middle classes. Bold as are the speeches, strong as is the language employed, there would seem to us to be a prevailing tone of despondency, a consciousness that the means resorted to are not adequate for the attainment of the end, an under current of suspicion that the agitation for free trade must eventually merge in an agitation for the suffrage, a sort of feeling, present but not expressed, that paper resolutions and eloquent speeches are not precisely the most efficient weapons to handle against the aristocratic body. In the interview with Sir Robert Peel, the Chairman of the delegates ventured upon something like a menace, that the refusal by government to repeal the corn laws would compel the members of the League to seek a large measure of political reform. We cannot but think that it would be a far wiser, a far more dignified, and a far more successful course, to do rather than to threaten, and not to hold up the suffrage question *in terrorem*, but heartily to espouse it. There are plenty of men to tell them now that they would have made more way by mixing up with agitation for corn law repeal—an agitation for the suffrage. We told them so last year, and our forwardness in this matter drew down upon ourselves severe rebuke. We are glad, therefore, to perceive a somewhat altered tone in the speeches of the delegates; and we shall conclude by urging upon the League the sound advice given them by the Hinckley association—"If this meeting be your last resource, we fear it is a hopeless one. If you find it such, say so—fearlessly say so to the world; appeal then from the parliament to the people, from

the Commons to the country, from the powers that be to that only source of just power in England—the English nation."

RIGHTS OF THE POOR.

IN another column will be found the third of an able series of letters, from the pen of Herbert Spencer, on the proper sphere of government, in which a settled provision for the poor is greatly deprecated, and it is contended that it is better to give men their rights, than to give them charity. We beg to ask our correspondent one question. When God sends hither into this world man, endowed with fitting corporeal and intellectual powers to make the cultivation of the earth subserve his wants, is it proper by any conventional arrangement, utterly to exclude a given number of men from any participation of the common inheritance? Property is the offspring of social laws, and antecedently to society could scarcely exist. Government is called into being to give protection to property, and this indeed is its main function. Man has a right to subsistence here—the title deeds to which were dated long prior to either property or government—has a right to claim that his industry, not his idleness, shall serve him for a living. If, owing to the complicity of that machine which we call society, honest industry ceases to be available to secure the supply of daily wants, the state, or the body politic, is bound, under such circumstances, to furnish an equivalent for the original right of inheritance, which for its own advantage has been abolished. A poor law we look upon, not as a state charity, but as a partial and imperfect substitute for man's native right to enjoy the fruits of that earth which God hath given him. No man is sent into this world under an obligation to starve; and conventional arrangements which create the danger must, of necessity, provide the remedy.

Saturday afternoon, the Queen and Prince Albert, accompanied by their Serene Highnesses the hereditary Prince and Princess of Saxe Coburg Gotha, left town in a carriage and four, escorted by a party of hussars, for Claremont.

Last Wednesday John William Bean, the humpbacked youth who was remanded on Monday by the Privy Council, upon a charge of presenting a pistol at the Queen with a treasonable design, was brought up to the home-office for final examination. The evidence was taken privately, and the perusal of the depositions was refused to the reporters for the daily press; but at the close the prisoner was removed to Newgate, and it is said that he has been fully committed to take his trial for a misdemeanor, in default of finding two sureties of 250*l.* each. The youth told his father in the presence of the officers of the prison, that he did not intend to hurt the Queen, but that he committed the act in order that he might be taken up. He declared that he had put nothing but powder and paper into the pistol, but admitted that he had been for three days in the park looking for the Queen. An observation was then made to the prisoner to this effect, "Oh, then, you intended to have done it before if you had had the opportunity?" to which the prisoner replied, "Yes, but she would not come out." He added that he was tired of his life and he wished to be transported; and as a proof (as he said), that he had no other object in view, he pointed the pistol to the ground and not at her Majesty, or the personages that were seated in the royal carriage. The prisoner further said that he "snapped" the pistol on Sunday morning, as the royal carriage passed, and that he had done so eight or nine times in the course of the three days he had been lying in wait for the Queen in the park, but upon every occasion the pistol had failed to go off. The prisoner is about 18 years of age, but does not look more than 15. The several witnesses who were examined before the privy council, were bound over to attend and give evidence at the next sessions of the central criminal court.

A cabinet council was held on Saturday afternoon at the foreign office. It was attended by Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Wharncliffe, the Duke of Buccleuch, Earl of Aberdeen, Lord Stanley, Sir J. Graham, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Earl of Haddington, Earl of Ripon, Lord Fitzgerald, Sir H. Hardinge, and Sir Edward Knatchbull. The council sat two hours and a half.

In consequence of the proclamation for the issuing of half-farthings, a considerable quantity of copper has been sent to the Mint, and a great number has already been struck; but the demand for gold and silver by the Bank being so urgent, this new coinage will not be issued to the public at least for three months to come.

A correspondent, in whom we place implicit confidence, informs us that he has certain information, that four millions of one pound notes have been in the Bank of England for the last five weeks ready for circulation.—*Morning Advertiser.*

Notwithstanding that the Bank of England has issued for the last fortnight a large quantity of new half-sovereigns, to meet in some degree the run that is made upon them for silver, they are not able to meet the demand, and it is with the greatest difficulty that parties changing light sovereigns, no matter the amount, can obtain more than from 3*l.* to 5*l.* This scarcity may be accounted for in consequence of the demand that has been made by government since the 24th ult., to meet the naval and military half-pay, and the quarterly pensions which have been in course of payment, as the treasury and pay-office always pay the claims in specie, and that of full weight.

The following notice was put up last week in the dividend, pay, and transfer offices, at the Bank of England;—"To receivers of dividends, whose total income is under 150*l.* per annum:—If your total income is less than 150*l.* per annum, your claim for a return of the tax must be made to the commissioners of the district in which you reside. The assessor of your parish will supply you with the necessary forms."

The commissioners of the Court of Bankruptcy are, we understand, immediately about to cancel all dividend checks, now in the hands of the official assignees, which are above six months old. New checks will be issued from time to time on the application of the parties entitled; but as this may be attended with some difficulty during the long vacation, and especially while the accountant's office is closed, creditors will do well to claim their dividends without further delay.—*Morning Paper.*

COMPLETE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

* * The Secretary of the National Complete Suffrage Union has handed us the following replies to correspondents. It is his intention to forward similar replies in future, whenever he may not think it necessary to send specific letters to the individuals.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"H. M., Chatham." It is an excellent plan. Reading in public is one of the best modes of conveying sound political instruction. If every member of the Union would occasionally open his house to his neighbours, and read the pamphlets of the Union, the movement would be rapidly advanced.

"A Member, Birmingham." Thanks for his suggestion. A committee has been appointed to consider it.

"A Well Wisher." Will he say what practical question the great "public movement" he suggests will advance?

"J. B., Salisbury." The doctrine that "in matters of politics we must side with the prejudices of the multitude," is of the most dangerous tendency. The Union cannot succeed except by an honest avowal of its distinguishing and simple principle.

"J. H., Sunderland, and others." Mr Vincent will shortly visit Scotland. Arrangements will be made for lecturing in various places in the north of England.

The weekly meeting of the committee was held at Birmingham on Monday, when the secretary read a long letter from Reading, with details of the progress of the movement there, and particularly referring to the expected election.

"Resolved—That the Chairman and Secretary be requested to conduct such correspondence and proceedings in relation to this object as may seem best."

The subject of opening a news room in Birmingham, in connexion with the Union was introduced, and a committee formed to consider the propriety of adopting such a course.

The requisite nomination of H. Vincent as lecturer having been received, the Secretary was requested to forward his certificate and appointment.

Letters were read from three gentlemen offering their services as lecturers to the Union; the cases stand over till another meeting. Applications for a grant of tracts had been received from Chatham and Salisbury, and the Secretary was requested to forward a quantity to each place. Letters were read from "A Well Wisher," "A Member," from Sunderland, Bristol, and Edinburgh; and various other communications which the crowded state of our columns prevents us from inserting.

The great complete suffrage meeting to welcome Henry Vincent to Scotland, convened by the Edinburgh Complete Suffrage union, was held on Monday, July 4th, in Mr Wight's large church, Richmond place. Great interest was excited to hear Mr Vincent; and the church was crowded to excess, although a small price of admission was charged. A large number of the middle classes were present. The *Scotsman* (a whig paper) gives the numbers present at about 2,000. In the absence of John Dunlop, Esq., of Brockloe, the chairman of the union, John Gray, Esq., was called to the chair. After a few remarks from the chairman on the principles of the union, and of the objects of the meeting, Mr Vincent rose amidst general and prolonged cheering, and addressed the meeting (to use the language of the *Scotsman*), "with great fluency, and frequently in terms of considerable eloquence and power, for upwards of an hour and a half." He expressed the pleasure he felt on being introduced to the liberal people of Scotland; and stated his fear lest, from the fact of his having been an inmate of a prison, some persons might have been prejudiced against him. He then, amidst loud cheers, recapitulated the circumstances that led to his incarceration. He drew a fearful picture of the distresses of the people, and of the mental and moral condition of large masses. He then proceeded to show how these terrible evils were to be traced to class legislation. The duties of governments were next illustrated with considerable effect. The lecturer then proceeded to explain the objects the Union had in view, namely, to cause the government of England to fulfil those duties. He clearly proved that the entire representation of the people must be secured ere these great objects could be attained. The principles of the Union were next ably argued and defended; and their justice and practicability made manifest. The enthusiastic cheers of the audience were a clear proof of the impression these principles made upon them. Mr Vincent concluded by an appeal to the middle and working classes to give effect to the Union and its principles, and sat down amidst cheers that were repeated for several minutes. The Rev. Dr Ritchie, in an able and eloquent speech, moved a vote of thanks to Mr Vincent, which, on being seconded, was carried by acclamation. It was then announced that Mr Vincent would deliver a second lecture on Wednesday night in St Cecilia hall, a much larger building. This announcement was most rapturously received. Mr Blackie (a chartist) then rose and said, that Wednesday was the monthly meeting night of the chartist body, but they would willingly postpone their meeting to enable the members to attend Mr Vincent's lecture. This friendly expression was warmly cheered. Thanks were voted to the chairman, and the meeting adjourned. A number of persons immediately added their names as members of the Union, amongst whom were several electors.

Mr Vincent's second lecture on Complete Suffrage was delivered in the St Cecilia hall, on Wednesday night last. Every part of the spacious building was crowded to suffocation. The middle classes were invited by circular, and thronged the galleries in great numbers. Mr Stott was called to the chair. Letters were read from William Tait (*Tait's Magazine*), and Alexander McClarran, Esq., apologising for their non-attendance, and regretting their absence. The Chairman in a short complimentary speech introduced Henry Vincent, who was received with very loud cheering. He proceeded calmly to state the grounds upon which the Union claimed the franchise for the people; and solicited the attention of his audience while he endeavoured to refute the various arguments and prejudices which are raised against it. He first met the fears of the property classes; in reference to which he demonstrated that attachment to property was one of the chief characteristics of our industrious population. He then showed that, under existing circumstances, with the people everywhere in want, property was safe; but that the misery of the populace could not be considered its best safeguard; and that property now depended for its safety entirely upon the moral feeling and virtuous forbearance of the masses. He asked if such a people ought to be branded as spoliators—

people who held property in veneration, even when they were perishing for the lack of it. He said that to raise such a people to freedom, and through that freedom to give them social comforts, the means of living by their own industry, and a higher moral and intellectual cultivation, could never endanger property; but on the contrary render it more secure, by restoring content and happiness where now there is misery and discontent. Mr Vincent dwelt at length upon this part of the subject, interrupted only by the loud cheers of his audience. His remarks evidently impressed the audience, and no part appeared more readily to assent than the middle classes. Mr Vincent then proceeded to meet a number of minor prejudices: amongst which "the ignorance of the multitude" received full attention. He showed that all the intelligence the multitude now possessed had been procured in despite of the ruling power, and not in consequence of any of its actions; that aristocratic institutions can only exist over an ignorant people; and that, therefore, those who conduct such institutions cannot be interested in the spread of information. He admitted that there was "ignorance" in the world, but he denied that "ignorance" only chose the poor for its companion. He thought that "ignorance" would be found in courts, palaces, halls, and drawing rooms, as well as in cottages; he believed some of it might be found in our wise house of Commons. He wished the people to judge of their own fitness for the franchise; and denied that they were "too ignorant" to do this. "The great thing to further education," said he, "is to base the government on the suffrages of all, thus interesting the governors and owners of property in the general improvement of all." He then proceeded to demonstrate that complete suffrage was the only thing to save the nation from ruin; and concluded by an appeal to the middle classes no longer to stand aloof from the working men; and resumed his seat amidst very loud cheering. A vote of thanks was moved and seconded to Mr Vincent, and carried by acclamation. Mr Vincent on returning thanks said, he had been suddenly called away to Nottingham, on business connected with the election; but that he would return to fulfil his other engagements in a few days. The Chairman called for an expression of opinion on the Nottingham election. The whole audience rose, and gave a shout for success at Nottingham that made the building shake. The meeting was then dissolved. A large number of persons joined the Union, which now comprises about 850 electors and 400 non-electors. There is to be a *soirée* in Edinburgh, on Mr Vincent's return. Preparations are also making for meetings in all the principal towns. The *Scotsman*, commenting on these lectures, makes the following observations:—

"The movement (Complete Suffrage) exhibits in its origin and growth a condition of the public mind fraught with instruction to the legislator. It is a fact which cannot be disguised, that large numbers of the middle classes have joined the present agitation. In this city eight hundred and fifty registered electors have enrolled their names. Chartism in its frenzy and recklessness has, it is true, been put down by the good sense of the nation; but this is insufficient to account for the sudden adoption of its principles by so many who formerly opposed them. No sooner have the chartists been compelled to abandon such of their views as involved a dissolution of the social compact, than we find multitudes of the middle class men eagerly uniting with them to break down the ten-pound barrier, and throw the franchise open to the million. How is this? How is it that men who formerly repudiated the doctrines as well as dreaded the violence of the chartists, have invited them to a mutual league, and swallowed the whole five points of their political creed, in order to gain their acquiescence? The answer is obvious. It is because the present constituency have abused their trust, and given a triumph to the interests of class. It is because they see the industrial power of England withering under the blight of selfish and unjust restrictions, and the deficiency in the exchequer about to be made up by a grinding tax, which will tend still farther to its ruin. It is because the national disease has reached that height when desperate remedies must be adopted, that we see even cautious men overcoming their scruples, and making common cause with those to whom they were formerly opposed, in order to combat evils which they regard as of a more pressing and perilous nature."

The Leicester Complete Suffrage association held their first monthly discussion last week, at the Town hall. The subject was, "Whether a full, fair, and free representation of the people will relieve them from the distress under which they are now suffering?" The discussion was opened by the Rev. J. P. Mursell, who, in a brief but eloquent address, maintained the affirmative, admitting that there would be some distress under the best form of government, but insisting that the general depression and distress now pervading the land had been superadded by a long continuance of unjust and selfish legislation; and contending that a contrary policy, if adopted in time, would therefore give effectual relief; and asserting, as his opinion, that a full, fair, and free representation of the people was the best, and indeed the only means of securing such an improved system of legislation. There was some difference of opinion as to the measures which must be adopted to secure the full benefit of complete representation; but nearly all the speakers concurred in the main with the opener, and at the close, the meeting, which was a numerous one, unanimously agreed to an affirmative reply to the question.

A lecture was delivered on Wednesday evening last, to a crowded audience, at Mr Bean's rooms, Nottingham, by Mr T. Beggs, the secretary of the Complete Suffrage association, upon the evils of class legislation, and their remedy. The lecturer dwelt with much force and effect upon the injustice and selfishness of a system that pampered the drones of the aristocracy in idleness and sensuality, sapped the foundations of our national prosperity, and the happiness and interest of the millions. Mr B. concluded in very energetic terms, by urging the middle classes of society to avert the ruin which class legislation renders inevitable, by a cordial and effectual union with their labouring brethren to overthrow, by moral force, that obstacle to the welfare of both.

A meeting of the members and friends of the Knightsbridge Complete Suffrage association was held on Wednesday last, at Thornton's coffee-house, Knightsbridge. Mr Dorey was called to the chair. Mr Neesom addressed the meeting at great length on the necessity of total abstinence from spirituous liquors, as a means of advancing social and political reform. Messrs Westerton, Thomas, Gifford, and Stimpson, also addressed the meeting on the subject.

The first monthly general meeting of the Complete Suffrage association was held, on Wednesday last, in the New hall, Edinburgh, which was crowded to excess. The treasurer, Mr A. Black, was in the chair. After the minutes of the council were read and approved, some discussion took place on the present aspect of the cause of progressive reform, and with a view to a decided action on the electoral body, the council were constituted a committee to look after the city registrations. From first to last, the proceedings were most encouraging, and at the close a good many new names were added to the roll of mem-

bers. Meetings are now to be held on the first Wednesday of every month; but before next meeting, the association expect to get Mr Vincent to visit Aberdeen.

At the half-yearly meeting of the Little Horton Reform association held on Tuesday week, it was unanimously resolved that the association should connect itself with the National Complete Suffrage Union. The officers elected for the ensuing half-year are Mr William Fieldsend, chairman; Mr Thomas Thackray, vice-chairman; and Mr Joseph Crabtree, secretary. The assistant-secretary and treasurer, and the committee, were also chosen on the same occasion.

Mr Charles Clarke, on Wednesday last, delivered a most powerful and impressive lecture at Ashburton, in the Democratic chapel, on the unparalleled distress in this country, and in energetic language called on the middle classes to join the movement for complete suffrage. Notice having been given that a second lecture would be delivered on Thursday evening, the chapel was crowded. Mr Clarke commenced on the injustice of the national debt, showing that so long as the aristocracy had the power of making laws to suit their party, so long this country would be in wretchedness and misery; and, after giving a description of the government of America, commenced an illustrative account of the motives for forming the Complete Suffrage Union, which will no doubt link into one bond of fellowship and union, based on the principles of justice, liberty, and humanity, all the reformers in this kingdom. We are happy to announce that a union was formed, and cards have been taken by several persons; and it is believed that if lecturers were to visit the different towns in Devon and Cornwall, unions would be everywhere formed, based on the great and glorious principles of political liberty.

METROPOLITAN.

On Friday evening a meeting of the dissenting ministers and their respective congregations, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, was held in the Finsbury Circus chapel, for the purpose of considering the present awful distress so general throughout the country, and hearing the statements of several ministers from the provinces, relative to the facts in connection with the distress, which came under their cognisance in their capacity as Christian pastors. Dr Price in the chair. The meeting was most numerously attended. The Rev. Mr Low of Forfar, the Rev. Mr Massie of Manchester, and Mr George Thompson, delivered most impressive statements of the awful state of starvation and wretchedness under which thousands and tens of thousands of the manufacturing population of their respective districts were at this moment suffering. In many districts it was stated the people were sitting in gloomy and sullen despondency. Threats were beginning to escape from them, and they only waited for a leader to commit some acts of sudden and fearful desperation.

A numerous attendance of the Middlesex magistrates was held on Thursday at the Clerkenwell Session house, to consider the intention of government to establish a permanent metropolitan court, which is considered to be expedient as a frequent tribunal for the trial of common larcenies and frauds within the district, with the appointment of judges, magistrates, &c. Correspondence has passed between the county magistrates in committee and Sir James Graham on the subject, approving of some proposals, and rejecting others, for adoption.

On Tuesday meetings of the Land and Assessed tax Commissioners were held, when commissioners for the Income tax were appointed for the city of London and the metropolitan districts.

At the meeting of the court of Aldermen on Tuesday last at the Guildhall, the Gaol committee presented a report on the improved state of ventilation at the Sessions house, under the plan of Dr Reid, with some regulations to be hereafter observed on the subject, and on other matters connected with that building, which was agreed to; and the Lord Mayor was requested to lay a copy of the report before the next court of Common Council. The court requested the Lord Mayor to carry out the intimation made by his lordship for his view of the eastern district of the Thames and Medway, as conservator, on the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd instant.

THE ANTI-CORN-LAW CONVENTION.

The anti-corn-law deputies met again on Wednesday last at the Crown and Anchor. Mr P. A. TAYLOR took the chair, and read several letters which had been received that morning; some of them approving of the conference, and others maintaining that it was utterly useless to agitate the question further, as it had done its utmost, and nothing was to be expected for the good of the people from the "monopolist legislature." One from Hinckley was read by the secretary amidst loud cheering; it gave the following advice to the meeting:—

"If this meeting be your last resource, we fear that it is a hopeless one. If you find it such say so; fearlessly say so to the world—appeal then from the parliament to the people—from the Commons to the country—from the powers that be to that only source of just power in England, the English nation."

The meeting was then proceeding to receive the reports from the delegates of the state of distress in which their several localities were plunged, when Mr WINKS, of Leicester, rose and said he should be glad to hear the programme of the plan of the committee with respect to future operations. They were all prepared to make reports, but they wanted to know what should be done. The Secretary (Mr G. THOMPSON) said the committee had considered what steps it would be proper for the conference to pursue practically with a view to obtaining the object which had brought them together. They resolved upon several measures, and he would refer to them in order to satisfy the meeting that they had not been unmindful of the trust reposed in them. They intended to seek an interview with the prime minister for the whole of the delegates, that they might lay upon him the solemn responsibility of denying the prayer which, on behalf of a perishing desperate people, they would on that occasion prefer, if the interview were granted. They had undertaken, also, to seek, through their chairman, an interview with the Duke of Sussex, which would have reference to something more than the mere laying before his royal highness the state of the country; it was intended, through the royal duke, to seek an opportunity of laying a statement of the grievances of those whom they represented at the feet of the Queen, who, they believed, shared in the feelings of compassion, and in the views of sound national policy which were cherished by her relative. The answers to their applications would be laid before the meeting the moment they arrived. With respect to other measures, it had been resolved in the executive committee to have a meeting of delegates as

early as possible, for the purpose of considering maturely what means still remain to be adopted of a constitutional and proper character for the attainment of their object—means which had not hitherto been resorted to, but which promised, by the adoption and application of them, to work out the end which they had in view. It was intended that that meeting should be of a strictly private character; that they sought the fullest opportunity of stating their views in the present crisis. To that meeting every delegate would be invited. He hoped that the delegates who were now anxious to have some plan at once adopted would attend at that meeting and state what, in their opinion, was the best plan which could be pursued. A conversation ensued with reference to the propriety of hearing the statements of distress; several gentlemen in the room proposing that the meeting should proceed at once to the discussion of ulterior measures, instead of hearing of any additional distress. At length it was agreed that the delegates should go on with their statements until two o'clock, when the meeting should proceed to the discussion of future operations. The Rev. Mr BAILEY and Mr W. IBBOTSON, from Sheffield; the Rev. Mr BONNER from Bilston; Mr TAUNTON and Mr TAYLOR, from Coventry; then gave details of distress and misery which are now, alas, but too common to every portion of the kingdom. Mr BAILEY, Mr TAUNTON, and some others, made allusions to the question of complete suffrage, and expressed their decided conviction that the "master monopoly" of class legislation must fall before any great good could be done. They said the necessity of an union of the middle and working classes, with a view to this end, was daily becoming more generally acknowledged; and the prevailing impression was, that the repeal of the corn laws must follow a thorough constitutional change in the House of Commons. Two o'clock having now arrived, Mr G. THOMPSON came forward and introduced the discussion of practical measures by a most vivid picture of the evils of monopoly, to which he ascribed the whole of the present misery. He then declared the course which he, as an individual, meant to take in the following words:—

This is a crisis. If monopoly live, our country dies. Monopoly has passed sentence of death upon the commerce, industry, and prosperity of the nation. The sentence is in process of execution. Will you see the fatal work completed? A word to you, my countrymen. This demon has robbed and starved you; but you have power to starve the demon. Will you do this? Will you support the injustice of which you are the victims? Have you the spirit of self-denial? If you have, the power is in your own hands—a pure, peaceful, irrepressible, omnipotent power. Do you believe you are taxed unjustly, unequally—and to support monopoly? If you do, then quietly leave the law to take its course. Abandon every taxed article that you can do without, and let your goods go to pay the income tax and the assessed taxes. The law leaves you the choice of paying in goods, in money, or in your person. The payment of money is your own act. The taking of your goods is the act of the government. Let them go [loud and continued cheers]. I should like to see the government try to find purchasers for the goods of 5,000 persons who had refused to give the tax gatherer his demand in money. Offer no resistance: reproach not the agent of the government; bar not your door against him; let him enter without obstruction. Gentlemen, this does not come from the committee room; it comes from no council chamber; it comes unprompted from my own deliberate thoughts. I have firmly resolved that until this law, which we all detest, which has cramped industry, robbed the poor because he is poor, destroyed our trade and commerce, and made us a by-word and a reproach among other nations, and is leading other countries which would not only be peaceable and friendly, but beneficial, to adopt retaliatory measures, and is every day rendering our condition in all respects worse and worse—I have determined that until this law is repealed, utterly and entirely, the course I have marked out shall be my course. This is my practical measure. If our conference should sit till parliament rises and re-assembles, the committee can submit to you no measure either more practicable, more peaceful, or more potent, than that which I have now marked out for myself. This is all I have to say to you this morning. I am persuaded I have uttered nothing that is illegal. I advise you not to combine, or to do anything that, even by a forced construction, or a tory construction, which you know is an exceedingly wide one, might bring you under the notice of the Attorney General. I commend the counsel I have given you to your own hearts individually. I call for no formal expression of opinion. Take what I have said to you to your own homes. Take it into the country. I say not don't talk about it. I don't advise you to conceal from others what you mean to do yourself. I don't tell you to make it a secret among the people of Coventry, and Wolverhampton, and Sheffield, and Manchester, and Paisley, and Glasgow. To night's papers will give my resolution to the world, and those of to-morrow will proclaim it on their face to the extreme ends of the island. Sir, what I have said I have said, and I will abide by it [loud cheers].

Mr MORGAN said that the committee had not yet decided upon the course it might be most desirable to adopt; but they would take into consideration any suggestion which might be offered. The meeting then adjourned.

On Thursday, Mr TAYLOR took the chair at eleven o'clock, and announced that they would that day be occupied in endeavouring to convey to the public an idea of the sufferings which were now felt in the manufacturing districts of the country. It was doubtless tedious and fatiguing to hear hour after hour the reiteration of misery from the mouths of the various deputies, but it was a most important part of their duty. Nothing would act upon the public sympathy so strongly as the honest representation of deep and unmerited distress. As it was desirable that every gentleman should have an opportunity of expressing his opinions on this subject, it had been arranged that until two o'clock the meeting should be engaged in hearing general statements of distress, and that after that time they should proceed to the consideration of remedies. The most harrowing statements were then given by the Rev. Mr Bonner, the Rev. W. Ferguson of Bicester, Mr Sydney Smith, Mr G. Thompson, Mr Nelstrop, mayor of Stockport, Mr Foster of Stockport, Mr Hayward of Liverpool, the Rev. Mr Morgan of Stourbridge, Mr Rawson of Manchester, Mr Chapman of Loughborough, Mr Grundy of Bury, Mr Moore of Manchester, Mr Winks of Leicester, Mr Dick of Paisley, Mr Clews of Hinckley, and Mr Bloodsworth of Leicester. The last speaker, among others, alluded to the suffrage question. He said—

He did not believe a repeal of the corn laws would give them all they wanted. He was not only an anti-corn law man, not only a universal suffrage man, but a universal rights man. If they wished the assistance of the working classes, they must let them see that they cared for their rights—that the middle classes wished to give them their rights. At a meeting the other day in Leicester not three middle class gentry had attended. If Mr Vincent were to go down and call a meeting he would have 3,000 people assembled round him. Why? Because the people believed that he was desirous of gaining for them their rights.

He was here interrupted by the Chairman, who said he fully agreed with the speaker in his views on the suffrage question, but they were not met there to discuss that question, and therefore he must request the speaker to confine his observations to the question before the meeting. Before the meeting adjourned, Mr Thompson read the following reply from Sir R. Peel.

"Sir—I am desired by Sir Robert Peel to inform you, that he will see the parties to whom your letter of the 6th of July refers, in Downing street, on Saturday next, at half-past eleven o'clock."

On Friday the delegates assembled at eleven o'clock, and the Chairman read the following reply from the Duke of Sussex:—

"Mr White is commanded by the Duke of Sussex to say that his Royal Highness

will be happy to receive any two of the gentlemen composing the deputation who forwarded the letter of yesterday's date, in relation to the sufferings of the industrious classes, if those gentlemen can make it convenient to call here about half-past one o'clock to-morrow (Friday)."

"Kensington Palace, Thursday, July 7."

The reading of this note was followed by much cheering. A letter from the Birmingham society was then read, which announced the determination of the middle classes of that town in the following terms:—

"With a cold, bleak, and dreary winter before them—with nothing but ruin, utter, hopeless ruin staring them in the face—with its attendant calamity, revolution, hovering about them, and draining from within them the very vitals which inspire men to energy, and to deeds of patriotism—with all these adverse circumstances staring them in the face, the shopkeepers and tradesmen have given up all hope of improving their condition by remonstrances, and petitioning, and memorialising, and deputationising, and bending the slavish knee to tyrants, who convert the statements of the people's condition into food for amusement and ridicule, who brutally laugh at the tattered garments of the poor, and who mock their heart-breaking representations in giving them stones when they ask for bread. The shopkeepers have unanimously declared that their only hope rests in circumstances, which are fast approaching to a crisis. Those of Birmingham resolved last evening, with furrowed brows and cheeks flushed with the glow of patriotic indignation, that they would hereafter stand with folded arms and watch until that period when Englishmen, knowing their rights, will dare to maintain them."

Several other communications were read, giving the most gloomy pictures of the state of things in different parts of the manufacturing districts. General Greene, from America, then addressed the meeting at great length; enlarging upon the commercial prosperity of that country, which he ascribed to cheap bread, and upon the advantages of free trade with the United States. He was interrupted repeatedly by the Chairman and others, who contended that his remarks were foreign to the subject under discussion, but at the intercession of Mr G. Thompson he was allowed to proceed. Mr ROBERTS, of Burnley, was then about to read a statement to the meeting, when he was interrupted by a delegate who suggested that they had had quite sufficient of the details of the distress existing, and that it would be better at once to proceed to discuss the question of the remedy. The CHAIRMAN said that the meeting had delegated to the Executive committee the arrangement of the proceedings, and decided that the delegate was out of order in interrupting Mr Roberts. Mr ROBERTS then read his statement; after which Mr BRADLEY, of Nottingham, came forward and was proceeding with a detail of the condition of the operatives in his district, when he was interrupted by the CHAIRMAN, who announced that the time fixed for the adjournment of the meeting had arrived, and requested Mr Bradley to bring his observations to a close. Mr B. complied, and the meeting adjourned.

In the afternoon a general meeting of the delegates and the members of Parliament who voted for Mr Villier's motion, was held at Herbert's hotel, Palace yard, to consider the best course of proceeding to be pursued at the present momentous crisis, and the most efficacious remedy to be proposed for the united action of the suffering millions. Several members of parliament were present; Mr TAYLOR took the chair, and in opening the business said, the distress of the country had risen to such a fearful height that the public safety was endangered. They were on the verge of a volcano, the bursting of which was only waiting for the extinguishment of hope. The members might act in any way they might consider most efficient, but their wish was that, if possible, they should prevent the prorogation of parliament till something was done for the perishing population. Mr HUME spoke at some length, he said that he believed that nothing but a change in the franchise would do. That was the power they must apply to to obtain a redress of the evils of which they complained; but still, if the delegates thought that they ought to bring another motion for a repeal of the corn laws before the House, they had the power to do it; and if they did so, and were unsuccessful, they would separate, and leave the country to take what measures they thought best. It was at length arranged that another motion for the repeal of the corn laws should be brought forward before the House adjourned.

Mr BRIGHT then gave an account of the interview that he had had with the Duke of Sussex. He said that the deputation had been received by his royal highness with the utmost cordiality and friendliness. He appeared to think that every thing wrong was not to be attributed to the corn laws, although they were the occasion of a great deal of evil, and he himself had always been strenuously opposed to them. His royal highness appeared to be exceedingly well informed on every subject, and it was evident he keeps well up with the newspapers. He said he would do everything to further their object, and, if they wished it, would find a way of presenting a memorial to the Queen; but she could not give them a reply, as she could not constitutionally do acts of sovereignty but through the agency of her ministers. His royal highness expressed great commiseration with the distress of the country, and they had come away with a much greater opinion both of his heart and understanding than they had before entertained. A vote of thanks was then unanimously passed to his royal highness, and the meeting separated.

On Saturday the conference met at half-past ten, at the Crown and Anchor, and immediately proceeded to the official residence of Sir R. Peel, in Downing street. The whole body of the delegates, a hundred and forty in number, proceeded to Downing street; and having ranged themselves in a circle in one of the large up-stairs rooms, Sir R. Peel entered and bowed to the delegates. Mr Taylor, of London, and a number of the delegates from Liverpool, Manchester, Bury, Leeds, Sheffield, and other places, entered into a statement of the distress which exists in the country—represented their belief that a repeal of the corn laws was the only means of relief—and implored the right hon. gentleman to do something to save the country from anarchy and ruin before it was too late. Some of them threatened to join the suffrage movement if the corn laws were not immediately repealed. Mr TAYLOR said,

He believed a large number at least of the League and its friends and supporters would say they had tried every means in their power, in the present state of the suffrage, to obtain a redress of their grievances, and they had tried them in vain; they must now join the ranks of those who were struggling for a radical reform in the representation of the people, convinced at length that the rights of humanity and justice could no otherwise be obtained.

Their statements were listened to for an hour and a half. At the conclusion Sir Robert Peel said,

"You will not expect from me any communication on the matters you have brought before me—matters which have frequently been under the notice of her Majesty's government and the House of Commons. What you have communicated shall be taken into consideration. I have nothing further to say (after a pause) except that I deeply sympathise in the distresses of the country, and thank you for the testimony you have borne, which I fear is incontestable."

On the termination of the interview they proceeded to Herbert's hotel, Palace yard, where Mr TAYLOR took the chair at one o'clock. The committee having retired to prepare a report of the interview with the Premier, the chairman read various communications he had received, detailing further distress; after which Mr BRADLEY, of Nottingham, proceeded with the statement he was making when interrupted on the preceding day. Before the meeting adjourned the following resolution was adopted:—

"That this conference being deliberately of opinion that its continued exertions are imperatively demanded, both by the alarming condition of the country at large and the position of the question in London, and being of opinion that their efforts have already been attended with effect, determine to remain sitting, and to use every constitutional means for the attainment of the object for which the conference has been assembled."

It was also unanimously agreed that a circular be addressed to all ministers of the gospel in the metropolis, "imploping their supplications on behalf of the distressed people, that God in his mercy may arrest the fearful calamities impending over the country." The following circular was also adopted, and is to be sent to all the provincial towns of any importance:—

"DEAR SIR—The details of suffering and distress which have been laid before the conference during the last five days are most fearful. This day the delegates have had an interview with the Premier, who thanked them for the information, confessed the accounts of the distress were incontrovertible, and promised to lay the statements before the government. The conference is of opinion that unless something be immediately done to relieve this wide-spread distress, the most deplorable consequences may arise. The case and position of the people is *desperate*. To prevent outbreak, and avoid convulsion in the country, it is necessary, if possible, that the House of Commons should not be prorogued till measures are taken to procure justice for the people. After the interview with Sir Robert Peel the delegates met at Palace yard, and passed a series of resolutions. Allow us, therefore, strenuously to urge you to send up zealous delegates to the continued sittings of the conference.

"There is no time to be lost. Be up and doing."

"I am, dear sir, yours respectfully,

(Signed on behalf of the conference)

"P. A. TAYLOR, Chairman."

On Monday the delegates assembled at Herbert's hotel, at eleven o'clock, Mr Taylor in the chair. Mr JOHNSON, of Derby, gave details of the distress in his neighbourhood; and concluded by stating his conviction that if the changes they expected were not obtained from the aristocracy, it would be the duty of all to join in a movement to put down that power, and that interest. Several other delegates addressed the meeting, giving statements of the destitution in which the working classes were involved; and prescribing the repeal of the corn laws as the only remedy. In confirmation of which Mr CULLEN, Mr INBORSON, and others, who were manufacturers, said they would immediately give employment to great numbers if this measure were effected. The CHAIRMAN intimated that seats had been provided, in the house of Lords, for such of the delegates who would wish to hear Lord Brougham bring forward his motion on the distress of the country; and the meeting then adjourned.

PROVINCIAL.

W. E. Fitzmaurice, Esq., has started as a candidate, upon conservative principles, for the representation of the county of Bucks, vacant by the decease of Sir W. L. Young, Bart. The nomination is appointed for Friday, in the County hall, Aylesbury. No opposition is expected, or has a chance of being successful.

The *Leeds Mercury* states that the proposition for an increase of duty on worsted goods, to be brought under the consideration of the approaching meeting of the German Customs' Union, will not be made by the Prussian government, they having refused to entertain the question—but by a body of Prussian manufacturers, chiefly, if not entirely, in the cotton trade. They will, however, be met by counter memorials from the merchants who import and sell the English stuffs. Well-informed mercantile men in Prussia and England differ in opinion as to the probable result. Some are of opinion that additional "protection" will be given, and that this policy will be persevered in, so long as England maintains her restrictive corn laws. Others think that the liberalising of the English tariff this session, will have a tendency to prevent the German states from adopting so hostile a measure; and that, as by far the larger part of the revenue of the German States is raised by the import duties, they will not sacrifice their revenue by ruining the import trade.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that some short time ago we gave an account of a man having been apprehended at Birmingham for distributing handbills against enlisting in the army. The following is an extract from the *Birmingham Advertiser*, a paper devoted to state-church principles, in reference to the subject, with Mr Sturge's reply to the same:—

"Our readers will remember that, during our late fair, an agent of the chartists, backed by Mr Joseph Sturge, was taken before the magistrates for distributing handbills among the people, urging upon them not to enlist in her Majesty's service. According to an article in the *Naval and Military Gazette* of Saturday last it would appear that Mr Sturge's freaks of that kind have not been confined to Birmingham; for that paper states that he and some similar "peace lovers" have been attempting, in our various garrison towns and seaports, to seduce her Majesty's troops from their allegiance by the distribution of the most seditious and scandalous placards. That paper further states that since his defence of the "Christian chartists" in Birmingham, whose peaceful war-cry in our market place was "To h— with the Queen!" Mr Joseph Sturge has visited Chatham and Rochester in the course of a mission to all our garrison towns, in furtherance of his "peaceful" ends. At Rochester his Vizier, a man of the name of Styles, was taken before the mayor for having circulated a printed address of the most infamous description. This address is inscribed, 'To those who are capable of bearing arms, and their relatives.' Its intention is, of course, to prevent the enlistment of troops for India, and the peculiar objects of the sympathy of its author are the peace-loving cut-throats of Afghanistan; their recent 'baptism in the blood' of many thousands of British soldiers having qualified them, in an especial manner, for friend Sturge's tenderest solicitude and regard."—*Birmingham Advertiser*.

"To Thomas Ragg, Editor of the *Birmingham Advertiser*."

"Some of my friends consider that false statements may be made to such an extent, that the maligned party ought not, on public grounds, to let them pass uncontradicted; and the remarks upon me in a leading article of the *Birmingham Advertiser* of the 16th ult., are held to be of this description.

"The explanation of the editor in his letter, published last week, neither legally nor morally exculpates him; but I wish only to call the attention of the public to the spirit of his article, and to state that the charges it contains are utterly without foundation.

"It may be recollected that an individual was brought before the magistrates of this town for distributing peace tracts, for whose appearance I gave bail; but the expression which the editor of the *Advertiser* endeavours to show, that I sanctioned, was not laid to his charge, even by the recruiting officer (the only witness against him), although this officer, in his cross-examination, acknowledged himself to be an interested witness by receiving a premium upon every person he could induce to enlist. All that he stated was that some of the bystanders had made use of the expression in the fair.

"So far from having visited the 'various garrison towns and seaports' to distribute the 'most seditious and scandalous placards,' I have not been to one of them to distribute, or to encourage others to distribute, tracts or placards of any description.

Chatham and Rochester I have never seen in the course of my life. I am ignorant of the existence of such a person as Styles, whom the editor of the *Advertiser* calls my 'Vizier,' having seen his name and the placard he is said to have distributed for the first time in the columns of that paper.

"Most emphatically do I condemn all war, as utterly opposed to Christianity, and the wars now waging with China and Afghanistan in particular, because they are marked by features of peculiar atrocity. The expression of these opinions occasions the *Birmingham Advertiser* to say—'We think it would be a capital joke, and withal, most righteous retribution, if Mr Joseph Sturge and his brother Styles were handed over, one to the smart boatswain of one of her Majesty's first rates, and the other to some vigilant and muscular sergeant, to undergo such discipline as the symptoms of the case may appear to demand, until they are cured of their belligerence.'"

"I would ask my fellow-countrymen, if this paper represents, as it professes, the principles of a church and state religion, what estimate must be formed of a system whose advocates adopt such sentiments as these, and whether it is uncharitable to presume that the writers, and the parties who employ them thus to write, want anything but the power, not the will, to use the rack and the torture—to relight the flames of Smithfield—and to revive all the other engines of oppression and persecution which marked the darkest period of our history."

"Birmingham, 7th mo. 11th. 1842."

"JOSEPH STURGE."

At the Hertford assizes Mr Justice Coltman, after having charged the grand jury, was informed that a woman named Chapman, who was a witness upon an indictment about to be preferred before the grand jury, refused to be sworn. His lordship directed the woman to be sent for, and asked her why she did not take the oath? She replied that she could not take an oath, and in answer to a question put by the learned judge said, that she belonged to the church of England, and that she refused to be sworn for Christ's and conscience sake. Mr Justice Coltman observed she had given no good reason why she should not be sworn; and, upon her still refusing to be sworn, she was ordered into the custody of the gaoler. The case in which she was a witness was shortly afterwards brought before the court, and Mr Justice Coltman, upon the woman's name being called as witness, ordered her to be sent for; and he again asked her whether she was willing to give her evidence. She answered that she would do just as his lordship pleased. Mr Justice Coltman told her that she had better give her evidence. She said she was willing to state all she knew, but she would not take an oath. Mr Justice Coltman told her that as this was the case, she must go back to gaol, and she was then removed in custody. [Here is a case of absurdity and cruelty—Mr Justice Coltman first asks this conscientious woman whether "she belongs to the sect of quakers, or to any other religious denomination of persons, that were by act of parliament exempted from taking an oath." She does not, but belongs to that class who have a conscience, and who act up to that conscience, but who have not sought, or at least have not obtained, an act of parliament to give credit to that conscience. The judge then tells her (he himself being an oath-taker), she had no good reason for being excused from taking the oath—that is, she had no act of parliament reason. But surely her reason was as good as that of the quakers and of other sects, who are not constrained to take the oath. Oh, no! says the learned judge, who professes to obey the commands of Christ, who indeed is obliged to take the sacrament as testimony of obedience, your conscience—reason is nothing worth, because an act of parliament has not declared it is anything worth. Get an act of parliament to say your conscience is a worthy one, and then I will let you escape, but if not, if you act up to your conscience, without such parliamentary sanction, you must go to prison, and keep your conscience there, among thieves, prostitutes, and gaolers. Because you have a regard or the command of your master—"Swear not at all," you shall keep company with those to whom oath-taking is daily bread. But the Judge Coltman, not content with telling her the law, not the justice on this point of oath-taking (biassed by that lawyer like-view so common to his class), designates her conscience, acting in the direction of not taking an oath, as "fancies." But the quaker, and the other sects' consciences on this point must be fancies too; and yet the judge gives effect to their consciences, because an act of parliament has been obtained in patronage of their judge named fancies. So that an act of parliament has the power of making "fancies," which according to Judge Colman, "if given effect to would defeat the criminal justice of the country,"—lose all their power of defeating this criminal justice, Wonders will never cease. They say parliament is omnipotent—there is an instance. After all, the plain English is this. You, Mrs Chapman, have no right to keep a conscience in any matter in which the State has a conscience, provided that your conscience differs from that of the State; unless you have power to make the State give you a monopoly in regard to your conscience, your opposing conscience is nothing but a fancy; but if you can obtain an act of parliament to justify such differing conscience, then your conscience ceases to be "a fancy;" it becomes a dignified conscientious scruple, that all are bound to respect. And moreover, to cure this "fancy," not as yet metamorphosed by the State licence into a conscientious scruple, I must give you company with these, who by their constant violation of our Saviour's command, "Swear not at all," will gradually habituate your mind to oath-taking, and thus convert you from a recusant non-oath-taking to an obedient oath taking subject.]

Seven of the most active of the East Worcestershire chartists were tried at Stafford on Saturday last, with their chief leader and spokesman, John Mason, for sedition, rioting, and assault on the police at Sedgley, when they were all severally convicted and sentenced to the House of Correction—Mason for six months, and the others respectively to three months and two months, according to the grades of their offences.—*Worcester Journal*.

There are now confined in Durham gaol double the number of debtors which there were at the corresponding period of last year; and so great has been the increase of commitments for felonies and misdemeanors, that the magistrates have deemed it necessary to materially enlarge the prison, at an expense of 4,000*l*.

On Monday evening, a meeting of the tradesmen, shopkeepers, innkeepers, &c., of Stockport, was held in the Court house, the Mayor in the chair, for the purpose of expressing their opinions on the unparalleled state of distress now so prevalent in that district. A resolution was passed, setting forth the alarming position in which the above classes were now placed with regard to the state of trade, its rapid decline, the diminution of confidence amongst tradesmen, and the prospect of early and general ruin unless parliament interferes. Various statements of the fearful condition of the borough were then made by several speakers; and in the discussion which ensued it was stated by the Mayor that notwithstanding the extreme privations to which the

poor were subjected, there was not a single prisoner from that borough for trial at the Chester or Liverpool assizes.

A preliminary meeting of shopkeepers, innkeepers, tradesmen, and retail dealers of Birmingham, was held on Tuesday last, for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of uniting in the movement lately commenced by the shopkeepers of Manchester and Leeds, with the view of appointing deputations, from the whole of the large towns, to wait on the government with statements of their actual condition, and to force upon the consideration of the government the necessity of adopting measures of relief, previous to the prorogation of parliament. A discussion took place, and it was generally thought that it would be a mockery to represent their condition to government. With this consideration, and with nothing but ruin and revolution staring them in the face—with a bleak, cold, and dreary winter on one side, and a starved, pauperised, and enraged people on the other—with no trade, no profits, no wages, no hope; and with high rents, increasing taxes, dear food, and no money—all these points considered, it was unanimously resolved to decline, very respectfully, the kind invitation sent by the men of Manchester on this occasion.

The following is the summary of the state of trade of most of the principal manufacturing towns:—In Manchester, prices continue as low as last week. In Leeds, Rochdale, and Halifax, no improvement has been manifested; in Leicester more business has been done; in Bolton and Oldham trade is declining every week.

A gang of seven thieves have been apprehended at Liverpool, who are suspected of having been concerned in a series of desperate burglaries: six of them have been committed for trial, charged with a robbery in the house of Mr Pugh, the landlord of the Black Dog tavern, in that town. One of the thieves was caught by a policeman who had been secreted in the bed room, whilst making his exit with a booty of between £5 and £6. The thieves had calculated upon meeting with upwards of £100 in cash, but their felonious plans were frustrated.

IRELAND.

At the close of the Tipperary special commission, six prisoners convicted of shooting at, with intent to kill, obnoxious individuals, were sentenced to transportation for life. Two (Byrnes and Woods) were sentenced to death, and one imprisoned for two years with occasional hard labour and solitary confinement. The judges who presided at the commission had not left Clonmel, when a dreadful murder was committed within a few miles of the place where Mr Hall had been assassinated by the wretched man Patrick Byrne, who has been left for execution on the 16th instant. On Sunday last, at noon, four men, wearing no disguise whatever, entered the house of Mr William Hardy, of Dolla, near Nenagh, in search of fire-arms. His son, a very young man, remonstrated against this attempt at robbery. The villains immediately struck him with a large stone, which fractured his skull, and the youth died instantly. The *Gazette* offers a reward of £100 for the discovery of the miscreants.

With one exception (Galway) the provincial papers continue to report most favourably of the prospects of an abundant harvest. The *Dublin Weekly Register* says:—"Altogether the season is highly favourable. Crops, which were indifferent some weeks ago, have greatly improved: this is to be said especially of oats. In the county of Dublin, however, the potatoes have missed in many quarters, and lightning has done some damage to the wheat. The meadows also are, in general, light; and from none but a few can an average crop be expected."

MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

RAILWAY ACCIDENTS.—The *Correspondent of Nuremberg* publishes a letter, dated Berlin, the 26th ult., stating that on the 24th ult., an accident occurred on the Potsdam railroad, which had nearly proved as fatal as that on the road to Versailles. The sparks of fire from a locomotive set fire to one of the waggons. The persons inside, perceiving the smoke, endeavoured to open the doors, but they were locked. At length the conductors, having heard the screams of the passengers, succeeded in extinguishing the fire.—On Wednesday, a serious accident happened on the Edinburgh and Glasgow railway. The 11 o'clock train from Glasgow, and the 9 o'clock train from Edinburgh, had both reached Cowlairs, and were slowly passing, when, owing to the gross negligence of the pointsman in leaving the points shut instead of open, the 9 o'clock train passed over on to the other line. The engine, in consequence, came in contact with the second class carriages of the 11 o'clock train, and we regret to state that a passenger inside had one of his legs much bruised or broken. A passenger in the second last carriage was also slightly hurt from being thrown forward against the opposite side of the carriage. One of the guards was thrown off the train, but was so slightly injured as to be able to proceed on to Edinburgh. The engine of the 11 o'clock train was almost immediately stopped, but not before one or two of the carriages had had their wheels thrown off, and were thus carried along the ground for several yards, though happily without any injury to the passengers inside, who were, however, as may be expected, in a state of the greatest alarm. The pointsman was taken into custody immediately after the accident, and has been handed over to the legal authorities, that the necessary investigation may be made into the matter.—On Saturday last a fire broke out in one of the trucks of the goods train on the Birmingham and Gloucester railway, while passing through Defford and Eckington. As the velocity increased the fire spread to four other trucks, and property to the amount of about £700 was burnt. The trucks belonged to the Grand Junction company, and were laden with Manchester goods. A spark falling from the chimney is supposed to have caused the fire, which was extinguished by water at Eckington.

DREADEFUL FIRE IN RUSSIA.—On the 21st of May, a dreadful fire destroyed the salt works of Novo Usolsky, in the government of Perm, the property of the Stroganoff family. The conflagration spread to the extent of 24 versts, and lasted three days. Besides the salt-works, with the immense provisions of all kinds of fuel made for them, from 5000 to 6000 inhabited houses connected with the manufactory, a large church, and numerous products of nature have become the prey of the flames. The branch of trade which gave life to the industry of the whole quarter, the numerous seething places built in stone or wood,

more than 15 store-houses, containing an immense quantity of salt, about 30,000 fathoms of firewood prepared for the works, the ancient majestic cathedral, the great edifices built in stone for the five proprietors, for the offices of the managers and clerks, and finally the 5000 or 6000 houses, with the property within them, all suffered in the general ruin. The extent of the loss, as to value, cannot as yet, be stated with any certainty. In the neighbouring villages, and in the few houses left standing, the families of about 500 of the labourers in the salt-works are, for the present, quartered, and provided with necessaries.

EXTRAORDINARY RACE.—Yesterday morning, at five minutes past 5 o'clock, 52 carrier pigeons belonging to different persons at Brussels, were let loose in Liverpool, and started off with the swiftness of the wind, on a race to the Belgian capital. They had been brought over to this place, covered up in a basket, for a grand trial of their swiftness and sagacity in returning to their homes. When they were let loose the morning was bright and beautiful, but if the rain should have been as heavy in the south east during the day as it was here, their flight will have been greatly impeded, and some of them will be likely to lose their way across the channel. We shall be curious to hear the result of this extraordinary race.—*Liverpool Times*, Tuesday.

BIRTH.

June 27, Mrs F. J. OLIVER, of Clerkenwell green, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES.

July 5, at the baptist chapel, Newton Abbott, by the Rev. Mr Watkins, WILLIAM BOWDEN, Esq., of St Mary Church, to Miss WILLS, daughter of T. Wills, Esq., Shaldon.

July 7, at the independent chapel, Basingstoke, Mr SPICER, of the Alton paper mills, to Miss WRIGHT, of Basingstoke.

July 7, at York street chapel, Walworth, by the Rev. T. Binney, Mr EDWARD DEANE, of Shoreditch, to PATIENCE CURLING, eldest daughter of Alexander Curling, Esq., 5, Charlotte row, Walworth.

DEATHS.

July 2, EMILY CHARLOTTE, the infant daughter of Mr GRIFFITHS, of Clerkenwell green.

July 4, at Aldbro, Suffolk, in his 43rd year, Mr ROBERT BROODBANK, leaving a widow and a numerous circle of friends to lament his early departure. He was a zealous member of the baptist church under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. Mathews. As a teacher in the Sabbath school, a distributor of religious tracts, and an active and benevolent friend in the cause of Christ, his loss will be greatly felt.

July 8, at St Anne's hill, near Chertsey, in her 97th year, Mrs FOX, widow of the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, July 8.

INSOLVENTS.

BAYSHAW, CHRISTOPHER, Great Castle street, Regent street, Middlesex, tailor, July 7.

LAMERTE, GEORGE, 100, Providence row, Finsbury, Middlesex, blacking manufacturer, July 8.

LOW, DAVID, 4, Adam's court, Old Broad street, City, merchant, July 7.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

CATLIN, RICHARD, Leicester, glazier.

ELLISON, JOHN, Leeds, Yorkshire, nail manufacturer.

BANKRUPTS.

BROOKBANKS, JAMES, Dudley, Worcestershire, mercer, to surrender July 20, August 19: solicitors, Messrs R. M. and C. Baxter, Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Messrs Sale and Worthington, Manchester.

EVANS, SAMUEL, Oswestry, Shropshire, linen draper, July 19, August 19: solicitors, Messrs R. M. and C. Baxter, Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Messrs Sale and Worthington, Manchester.

GRAVES, JOHN PRITCHARD, Mortimer street, Cavendish square, Middlesex, auctioneer, July 14, August 19: solicitors, Messrs Harrison, Walbrook, City.

HAWKINS, JOHN, formerly of Maidenhead, and now of Holyport, Berkshire, farmer, July 14, August 19: solicitor, Mr Rushbury, 5, William street, Pentonville, London.

HOOPER, JOHN, 10, Austin friars, City, and 20, Regent street, Waterloo place, Middlesex, tea dealer, July 21, August 19: solicitor, Mr Hardy, 89, Chancery lane.

JOHNSON, GEORGE THOMAS FORTIN, Norwich, chemist, July 18, August 19: solicitor, Mr F. C. Taylor, Norwich.

JOHNSON, JAMES, Manchester, quilting manufacturer, July 23, August 19: solicitors, Messrs Makinson and Sanders, Elm court, Middle Temple, London, and Messrs Atkinson and Saunders, Manchester.

PAU, DAVID, Red Lion wharf, Upper Thames street, City, and 39, Craven place, Bayswater, Middlesex, coal merchant, July 18, August 19: solicitors, Messrs Manning and Son, 2, Dyer's buildings, Holborn.

SPARHAM, JOHN, late of Froston, Suffolk, miller, July 12, August 29: solicitors, Mr F. Wing, Bury St Edmunds, and Messrs Chilton and Ackland, 7, Chancery lane, London.

WILSON, THOMAS and WILLIAM, Manchester, hat trimming manufacturers, July 25, August 19: solicitors, Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London, and Messrs Bagshaw and Stevenson, Manchester.

WOOD, HAMILTON, Manchester, and Watling street, City, mousline de laine merchant, July 20, August 19: solicitors, T. and J. Lee, Leeds, and Messrs Stevens and Co., Queen street, London.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DICKIE, WILLIAM, Girthill, Ardrossan, farmer, July 12, August 9.

MAXWELL, PATRICK JOSEPH, Finlarig house, near Killing, Perthshire, farmer, July 14, August 11.

DIVIDENDS.

July 29, Jarrett, 52, Castle street, Southwark, hat manufacturer—July 29, Horend Paradise street, Lambeth, builder—July 29, Wardall, late of Carey street, Lincoln's inn, lodging-house keeper—July 29, Levi, Pinners' hall, Great Winchester street, London, and of Portsea, Southampton, merchant—July 30, Arnold and Woollett, Clement's lane, City, ship and insurance agents—July 30, Brownlow, 24, White street, Finsbury, silk dresser and hot presser—July 30, Bidmead, 62, Bread street, Cheapside, warehouseman and shipping agent—August 1, Green, Manchester, engineer—August 5, Walker and Gray, Leeds, woolstaplers and cloth manufacturers—July 30, Brown, Sheffield, timber merchant—August 3, Barnard, Portsea, Hampshire, coal merchant—Sept. 23, Donald, Brighton, Sussex, furrier—August 6, Blake, Devonport, Devonshire, draper—Sept. 14, Renny and Brown, Liverpool, oil cloth manufacturers—July 30, Cocking, Beeston, Bedfordshire, market gardener—July 29, Read, Corn Market, Worcester, wine merchant.

CERTIFICATES—JULY 29.

Boast, late of Webb's County terrace, New Kent road, but now of Trinity square, Southwark, apothecary—Richardson, Bramley, Surrey, builder—Crook, George yard, Longacre, livery stable keeper—Lee, Battye mill, near Mirfield, Yorkshire, boat builder—Morrison, Globe street, Wapping, cooper, and yeast and spirit merchant—Alexander, 101, Leadenhall street, City, musical wind instrument maker—Hillyard, Bristol, freestone, coal, and timber merchant—Parker, Brampton, Cumberland, butcher and cattle dealer.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Cothay and Gould, 3, Corbet court, City, merchant—Cambridge and Goddard, Cheltenham, wine merchants—Davis and Coventry, Glasshouse yard, St Ann's, Blackfriars, umbrella manufacturers—Clarke and Wilson, 66, Old Bailey, publishers—Wilson and Dawson, Oldham, Lancashire, stone masons—Gladstone and Co., Liverpool, iron merchants (so far as regards T. M. Gladstone)—Roas and Co., Hamilton, Canada, merchants—Radford and Parsons, of the firm of M. A. Bailey and Co., 15, Little Pulteney street, Golden square, starch manufacturers—J., S. B., and W. Hargreave, Leeds, woollen cloth manufacturers—Vallance and Henry, Liverpool, merchants—J. H., M., and E. Farrar, Prickleden, Yorkshire, scribbling millers—Hooper and Bellamy, Gloucester, grocers—Walleit and Woodward, Wakefield, Yorkshire, equestrians—Humphries and Holmes, Bristol, commission merchants—M. and J. Stevens, 37, North Audley street, Grosvenor square, dressmakers—Pfeil and Co., 5 and 6, Broad street, Bloomsbury, and 33, Greek street, Soho, ironmonger (so far as regards Feldwick)—B. and H. Ayre, 4, Lawrence lane, Cheapside, commission agents—Wilmshurst and Co., Cranbrook, Kent, bankers—Dale and Co., Bristol—Cross and Walter, 19, Gutter lane, Cheapside, commission agents—Collier and Dunsford, Plymouth, wine merchants—Lovell and Peacock, Shadwell, carpenters—F. F. and J. Shore, Birmingham, and of Lisbon and Oporto, Portugal, wine merchants—May and Morritt, 66, Oxford street, ironmongers—J. and E. Harvey, Penzance, Cornwall, builders—Tunstall and Armistead, Barrowford, near Colne, Lancashire, commission agents—Thomas and Goodwin, 115, Ratcliffe highway, tobaccoconists.

Tuesday, July 12.

INSOLVENTS.

MUNDAY, THOMAS HENRY, of 9, Fore-street, Cripplegate, bookseller, July 7.
JEFFREYS, HARRY COLLINS, of Much Wenlock, Shropshire, miller, July 12.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

HEYWOOD, WILLIAM, now or late of Basinghall-street, London, and of Manchester warehouseman.

BANKRUPTS.

BARBOUR, DAVID, and NORRIS, JOHN, Liverpool, soap boilers, July 23, August 23: solicitors, Mr Booker, Liverpool, and Messrs Holme and Co., 10, New inn, London.

CLEGG, JOHN, Manchester, silk and ribbon manufacturer, July 26, August 23: solicitors, Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London, and Messrs Bagshaw and Stevenson, Manchester.

DUBLACHER, LEWIS, of 15, Old Burlington-street, picture dealer, July 26, and August 23: solicitor, Mr George Walford, 8, Grafton-street, Bond-street.

ENDICOTT, THOMAS, Bath, innkeeper, July 28, August 23: solicitors, Messrs Jones and Blaxton, Crosby square, Bishopsgate street, London, and Mr Hellings, Bath.

EVANS, JAMES, Darwen, Lancashire, iron founder, July 25, August 23: solicitors, Messrs Johnson and Co., Temple, London, and Mr Harrison Blair, Manchester.

FISHER, JAMES, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Lancashire, draper, July 20, August 23: solicitors, Mr Samuel Appleby, 75, Aldermanbury, London, and Mr Alexander Oliver, Manchester.

HARRISON, GEORGE HENRY, late of 22, Moorgate-street, city, merchant, July 22 and August 23: solicitors, Mr T. M. Alsager, official assignee, Birchin-lane; and Mr Boxer, 61, Moorgate-street.

HUMPHREYS, PETER, Cholmondeley, Cheshire, builder, July 30, August 23: solicitors, Messrs Harper and Parry Jones, Whitechurch, and Messrs Vincent and Sherwood, 9, King's Bench walk, Temple, London.

JACKSON, SAMUEL, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, picture dealer, August 4, 23: solicitors, Messrs Jones and Cooke, 11, Gray's inn square, London.

MESSITER, EDWARD STEPHENS, and MESSITER, FREDERICK, Malmesbury, Wiltshire, August 1, 26: solicitors, Messrs Millard and Adams, Cordwainer's hall, London, and Mr Chubb, Malmesbury.

PARR, WILLIAM, now or late of Smallthorn, Staffordshire, shopkeeper, July 26, August 23: solicitors, Mr Wolston, Furnival's inn, London, and Messrs J. and W. Ward, Burslem.

WILLIAMS, RICHARD, Alvington, Gloucestershire, farmer, July 27, August 23: solicitors, Messrs Blower and Vizard, 61, Lincoln's inn fields, London, and Messrs James and Son, Newnham.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MORRISON, JOHN, bookseller, Laurieston, Glasgow, July 15, August 12.

DIVIDENDS.

Parker and Co., late of Birchin lane, City, merchants, August 4—Henn, Holborn, hatter, August 4—Porter, Honiton, Devonshire, victualer, Sept. 6—Heward, Bridlington quay, Yorkshire, timber merchant, August 4—J. and T. Turner, New mill, Yorkshire, clothiers, August 5.

CERTIFICATES—AUGUST 2.

Holland, Manchester and Atherton, Lancashire, power loom manufacturers of calicoes—Barnes, now of Shincliffe, Durham, fire brick manufacturer—Hare, Corby, Lincolnshire, liquor merchant—Byng, Old Windsor, Berkshire, and Saffron Walden, Essex, engineer—Telfer, Praed street, Paddington, smith—Briggs, Blackburn, Lancashire, cotton spinner—A., J., and W. Cartwright, Wigan, Lancashire, cotton spinners—Hayward, Milverton, Warwickshire, miller—Ball, 34, Paternoster row, City, bookseller—Hill and Wackerbath, Leadenhall street, City, ship and insurance agents—Dykes, Broad street, Saint Giles's, stationer.

PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Wheelwright, South place, Finsbury square, and Randall, 43, Finsbury square, surgeons—Moore and Allnatt, late of Wimborne Minster, Dorsetshire, attorneys and conveyancers—Mitchell and Bolland, Middleton, Lancashire, iron and brass founders and engineers—W. and G. B. Hammond, grocers and tallow chandlers—Farrell and Grimmer, 30, Great Ormond street, Queen square, tailors—Williams and Champion, 5, Friday street, City, wholesale fur manufacturers and warehousemen—Cowdell and Son, Hinckley, Leicestershire, attorneys and conveyancers—Evans and Duff, Stockbridge, Southampton, carpenters and builders—Calley and Lingham, late of Birmingham, button manufacturers, merchants, and factors—Town and Co., Ardwick, Lancashire, dyers (so far as regards R. Town, H. Crabtree, and J. Smith)—Bolton and Miller, 112, Albany street, Regent's park, corn dealers and corn merchants—Wray and Greaves, Leeds, fruit merchants and herring dealers—Daly and Co., 239, Upper Thames street, City, iron merchants and ironmongers—J. and W. Giles, Birmingham, engine turners and steel pen manufacturers—Boyle and Easthope, 41, Ludgate hill, City, and of Wolverhampton, Staffordshire, house painters and cabinet makers—R. and C. Ratsey, West Cowes, Hampshire, sail makers.

BRITISH FUNDS.

Money has become plentiful on the Stock exchange; and, as the demand is limited, the rates of interest are easy—about two to three per cent for short periods of accommodation. The brokers, anticipating a demand for stock when money became plentiful, have brought a large quantity into the market; but, as there is no call for it, the market is oversupplied, and prices continue lower than during last week.

| | Wed. | Thurs. | Fri. | Sat. | Mon. | Tues. |
|-------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 3 per cent. Consols | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ |
| Ditto for opening | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ |
| 3 per cents. Reduced | 92 | 91½ | 91½ | 91½ | — | — |
| 3½ per cents. Reduced | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ | 100½ |
| New 3½ per cent. | — | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ | 99½ |
| Long Annuities | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ | 12½ |
| Bank Stock | 167 | 167 | 166½ | — | 166 | 167 |
| India Stock | 247 | — | 249 | — | 249 | — |
| Exchequer Bills | 47 pm | 50 pm | 48 pm | 50 pm | 48 pm | 48 pm |
| India Bonds, 3 per cent. | 26 pm | 26 pm | 28 pm | 26 pm | 26 pm | 26 pm |

MARKETS.

GRAIN, MARK LANE, July 11.

There was a very large supply of English wheat at market to-day. The best of the Essex runs were taken off at a decline of 2s. per qr, and a further decline would have been accepted to have got rid of secondary qualities, and of the Kentish supply. Spring corn of all descriptions was very dull, and generally 1s. lower. Of foreign wheat, and flour and oats, we have had large arrivals. There was so little disposition to buy either free or bonded, or floating cargoes, that scarcely any business was done.

| | s. | d. | | s. | d. | | s. | d. |
|----------------|----|-------|----------------|----|-------|------------|----|-------|
| Wheat, Red New | 49 | to 60 | Malt, Ordinary | 45 | to 53 | Beans, Old | 34 | to 38 |
| Fine | 62 | .. 68 | Pale | 56 | .. 62 | Harrow | 29 | .. 34 |
| White | 54 | .. 60 | Peas, Hog | 29 | .. 31 | Oats, Feed | 18 | .. 20 |
| Fine | 64 | .. 71 | Maple | 30 | .. 33 | Fine | 21 | .. 24 |
| Rye | 32 | .. 36 | Boilers | 34 | .. 38 | Poland | 22 | .. 26 |
| Barley | 22 | .. 26 | Beans, Ticks | 27 | .. 32 | Potato | 22 | .. 26 |
| Malting | 28 | to 32 | | | | | | |

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR JULY 8.

| | | |
|--------|------|-----|
| Wheat | 64s. | 3d. |
| Barley | 27 | 7 |
| Oats | 22 | 4 |
| Rye | 32 | 3 |
| Beans | 34 | 9 |
| Peas | 35 | 6 |

AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF SIX WEEKS.

| | | |
|--------|------|-----|
| Wheat | 63s. | 7d. |
| Barley | 26 | 10 |
| Oats | 20 | 10 |
| Rye | 33 | 3 |
| Beans | 33 | 5 |
| Peas | 32 | 10 |

DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN FOR THE PRESENT WEEK.

| | | |
|--------|-----|-----|
| Wheat | 9s. | 0d. |
| Barley | 10 | 0 |
| Oats | 6 | 0 |
| Rye | 9 | 6 |
| Beans | 9 | 6 |
| Peas | 10 | 6 |

SEEDS.

There were several samples of new caraway shown this morning, mostly of good quality, and the seedsmen being generally unwilling to pay the rates asked, prices were scarcely established. We had also a sample or two of new rapeseed, for the best qualities of which £40 per last was asked, but not, we believe, obtained.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, July 11.

There was an active demand for new Irish butter, and sales effected at 1s. to 2s. over our last quotations, but towards the close there was considerable heaviness in the market. The old continues in request. The prices have ranged, for new Waterford flour, 85s. to 88s.; Carrick, 86s. to 88s.; Clonmel, 87s. to 89s.; Kilkenny, 87s. to 88s.; Cork and Limerick, 82s. to 83s., on board, and in proportion landed. Old, as in quality, 56s. to 66s. per cwt. The price of the best Friesland opened at 104s., and ended dull at 100s. to 102s. Bacon continues steady, as the dealers buy only for present consumption. Prices, as in quality, freshness, and size, 46s. to 51s. per cwt. Bale and tierce middles not altered in price or demand. Lard rather dull, and prices droop. Hams of fine quality find buyers at good prices. Beef and pork without change.

HOPS, BOROUGH, July 11.

The duty is not backed higher to-day than £140,000, some of the accounts representing that the bines do not look quite so healthy as on this day week, though they agree that there is neither lice nor fly at present. Scarcely any business is doing in the market. From Farnham the intelligence is favourable.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, July 11.

Trade was better to-day, but more particularly in mutton; not so much on account of any increase in the demand for slaughtering, but on account of a spirited demand for keeping, which had an influence on the prices of mutton. Fewer head of cattle than ordinary were turned out unsold. We cannot expect any material alteration in prices from the passing of the new tariff into operation until after this week.

| | | | |
|--------|--------------------|------|--------------------|
| Beef | 3s. 4d. to 4s. 6d. | Veal | 3s. 8d. to 4s. 8d. |
| Mutton | 3 4 .. 4 4 | Pork | 4 0 .. 4 10 |
| Lamb | 4s. 8d. to 5s. 6d. | | |

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

| | Beasts. | Sheep. | Calves. | Pigs. |
|--------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| Friday | 632 | 10,750 | 438 | 321 |
| Monday | 2,454 | 31,750 | 220 | 401 |

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, July 11.

| Per 8lbs. by the carcase. | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| Inferior Beef | 3s. 0d. to 3s. 2d. | Inferior Mutton | 3s. 2d. to 3s. 4d. |
| Middling ditto | 3 2 .. 3 4 | Middling ditto | 3 4 .. 3 6 |
| Prime large ditto | 3 4 .. 3 6 | Prime ditto | 3 8 .. 4 0 |
| Prime small ditto | 3 8 .. 3 10 | Veal | 3 8 .. 4 2 |
| Large Pork | 4 0 .. 4 6 | Small Pork | 4 8 .. 4 10 |
| Lamb | 4s. 8d. to 5s. 4d. | | |

WOOL, July 11.

The transactions in English wools have been very limited this week, the stocks of those sorts most in demand being very scarce in this market. In prices we cannot quote any alteration.

COAL EXCHANGE, July 11.

Haswell, 20s. 9d.; Hetton, 20s. 6d.; Lambton, 20s. 6d.; Stewart's, 21s.; Caradoc, 20s. 9d.; Hartlepool, 20s. 6d. Ships arrived this week, 86.

GROCERIES, TUESDAY, JULY 12.

COFFEE.—For British plantation coffee a good demand has existed, and the parcels brought forward have all been disposed of. In Mocha a good business has been transacted, and higher rates have been paid. Large sales of good ord. Ceylon were made at 75s. to 76s.; fine ord. 76s. 6d. to 77s., per cwt; being 1s. 6d. higher. Foreign coffee was sought after, and 34s. 6d. to 35s. paid for good ord. St Domingo with colour.

SUGAR.—There was more activity in the sugar market. The public sale of 149 hhds 1 tierce Barbadoes was well attended, but the biddings were languid, and a part only found purchasers at prices 6d. per cwt under those of the previous sale. Fine yellow sold at 65s. 6d. to 67s.; good, 63s. 6d. to 65s.; mid., 60s. to 63s. per cwt.

TALLOW.—On the spot 47s. 9d. to 48s. are the nearest rates for P. Y. candle. For delivery in the last three months 48s. 9d. to 49s. per cwt. South American at 41s. 6d. to 46s. 9d. for ord. to fine. Town tallow at 47s. 6d. nett cash.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

MENTAL AND MORAL DIGNITY OF WOMAN.

In this Work the Author argues that the mental powers of Woman are equal, and her moral feelings superior, to those of Men.

"We trust this volume will obtain a wide circulation, or it cannot fail to do good."—*Nonconformist*.

"The writer is undoubtedly not one of the least able defenders of the claims of woman to a higher social and intellectual position."—*Westminster Review*.

"Mr Parsons' work is original. We cordially thank him for it, and most earnestly recommend it to our readers as a book likely to confer upon them great benefit."—*Northern Baptist*.

"We know of no book more fitted for a gift to the ladies than this eloquent panegyric upon the sex."—*Cheltenham Free Press*.

"We feel that our thanks are due to the industrious author for his very important and edifying book. We scarcely know to whom we can most strongly recommend it; whether to women, whose enlightened, kind, and eloquent advocate it is, or to men."—*Herald of Peace*.

"It displays in every part a strong vigorous mind; and justice will not be done to its author if it have not a speedy and extensive circulation."—*Christian Examiner*.

"If it requires, it will likewise recompense, a thoughtful perusal."—*Watchman*.

"The book cannot fail to do good."—*Revivalist*.

JOHN SNOW, London. Price 5s. 6d.

THE QUEEN has been graciously pleased to command that JOSEPH GILLOTT, of Birmingham, be appointed Steel Pen Manufacturer in Ordinary to her Majesty, dated April 13, 1840.

JOSEPH GILLOTT's very superior PATENT and other METALLIC PENS may be had of all Stationers, Booksellers, and other Dealers in Pens throughout the United Kingdom.

It is gratifying to the Patentee to acknowledge his obligations to the Public for the best proof they can give him of their approbation, in the continually increasing demand for his pens.

The number of Pens manufactured at the Works of Joseph Gillott

| From Oct., 1838, to Oct., 1839, | And from Dec., 1840, to Dec., 1841, |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| was 44,654,702; | was 62,126,928; |
| or 3,721,225 dozens; | or 5,177,244 dozens; |
| or 310,102 gross 1 doz. | or 431,437 gross. |

CAUTION.—All the genuine Pens are marked in full, "JOSEPH GILLOTT," and Venders are desired to note that his Cards of Pens are made up in Packets of one dozen each, and have a label outside, with a fac-simile of his signature.

At the request of persons extensively engaged in tuition, J. G. has introduced his WARRANTED SCHOOL PENS, which are specially adapted to their use, being of different degrees of flexibility, and with FINE, MEDIUM, and BROAD POINTS.

Wholesale and for Exportation, at the Manufactory, VICTORIA WORKS, Graham street, Birmingham; and at 37, Gracechurch street, London, under the management of Mr Fox, from the Manufactory at Birmingham.

THE WAR IN CHINA.

HOWQUA'S AND MOWQUA'S CELEBRATED TEAS.

THE important consequences likely to

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PLATE 1. RICHARD I. }
2. JOHN } PLANTAGENET
3. HENRY III. } LINE.
4. EDWARD I. }
5. EDWARD II. }
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